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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

Baldwin Prize Essay Judges Appointed.—Professor George C. S. Benson, of the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, University of Michigan; Professor E. B. Schulz of the Department of History and Government, Lehigh University; and Alfred Willoughby, assistant secretary of the National Municipal League, have been appointed as judges of the 1938 Baldwin prize essay contest. Announcement of the winner of the one-hundred-dollar prize is expected to be made within a few weeks.

* * *

League Secretaries on Field Trip.—The secretary and assistant secretary of the League are planning a field trip for late September and early October in the interests of the League's program. Cities on their itinerary will include Buffalo, Madison, Toledo, Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Washington, Baltimore, where they will confer with the steering committee organized to make local plans for the League's forty-fourth annual conference, and Philadelphia, where a new city manager-proportional representation charter has just been made public by the charter commission appointed by Governor Earle and the Pennsylvania legislature some fifteen months ago.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

Forty-fourth Annual Conference on Government

Lord Baltimore Hotel, Baltimore, Maryland

December 1st, 2nd, and 3rd

National Municipal League
Proportional Representation League
National Association of Civic Secretaries

participating

Subjects to be discussed include: publicizing government, reorganization of county government, progress under city management, financial problems, state aid, proportional representation, planning, recreation, personnel, police, education and cultural services, and unemployment relief.

For information address

National Municipal League

309 East 34th Street **New York City**

SET THESE DATES ASIDE ON YOUR CALENDAR

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Democracy Attacked at Home

THE last hectic hours are proverbially the hours of danger in legislative bodies. The New York State Constitutional Convention proved no exception. On the last morning of its regular deliberations a surprise combination of upstate Republican and New York City Tammany politicians rode roughshod over the convention leaders to put through as brazen an assault on the fundamental principles of self-government as has been seen in many years. This combination amended the otherwise excellent suffrage committee proposal to provide that "no election for any office to be filled by the people of the state or any of its subdivisions shall be conducted by any system of proportional representation."

Proportional representation, familiarly known as "P.R.," is the modern method of giving fair representation to minorities as well as majorities which the people of New York City adopted for their new city council in 1936 by a vote of 923,186 to 555,217. Under it half a million more people have obtained representation in the council than were ever able to elect aldermen for whom they voted under the old plan.

The last board of aldermen under the old district plurality system consisted of sixty-two Democrats and three Republicans. Even last fall, when the LaGuardia landslide reduced the Tammany popular vote for minor offices to approximately 50 per cent of the whole, the Democrats in district plurality elections elected 80 per cent of the city's assemblymen and 87 per cent of its delegates to the constitutional convention. But the twenty-six-man city council elected by P.R. the same day properly includes only thirteen Democrats. The other thirteen members are Republicans, Laborites and independents. For the first time in a generation the Tammany steam roller has ceased to roll in the city representative body.

This, of course, explains the anxiety of New York City Tammany politicians to be rid of the system. Apparently certain upstate Republican politicians like the idea of fair treatment for minorities no better. The amendment was introduced by a delegate from Schenectady, where a referendum vote on the adoption of P.R. is to be taken this fall.

The ban on P.R. was a flagrant violation of the principles of home rule which the convention had already affirmed in principle at least three times, in separate measures, for cities, counties, and first class villages. No city can adopt P.R. without a majority vote of its electors and any city can discard it by the same method if it does not like it in practice. In its action, the convention flies in the face of an overwhelming majority vote in the City of New York and prevents other cities from choosing their own method of selecting local officials.

It is to be hoped that the people of New York State still cherish the basic principles of democracy sufficiently to reject this disgraceful action at the polls.

A New Constitution for New York? Well, Maybe

IF ANY state, from the standpoint of experience, tradition, and endowments of leadership and wealth, was in a position to lead the way with a new state constitution which could have served in some measure as an inspiration and encouragement to other states, it was the "Empire State," richest and most populous and acknowledged leader in so many fields of governmental activity.

The present New York constitution is one of the best. The convention had the chance to shape it into a great forward-looking document. This opportunity was muffed. In the end, all but a helpless few of the delegates were so bedevilled by thoughts of political advantage that a convention which met with high hopes of constructive progress became in the last days seriously discredited. It was virtually a confession when the convention finally proposed that future conventions should never be held in years when there is to be a gubernatorial election. The convention's submissions, as far as they go, however, are important and useful, with a few outstanding exceptions.

Distinctly a step backward for a state with a well organized government was the attempted slap at the "bureaucracy" of the New Deal through a proposal to make nearly all administrative decisions subject to judicial review on the facts as well as the law. This proposal was earnestly supported by some delegates on its merits, but its possibilities for overburdening of the courts and the crippling of public administration, particularly in the fixing of utility rates and civil service administration, are staggering.

Legislative reapportionment was, of course, primarily a political issue and it was hardly to be expected that the convention would do more than it did to equalize representation. The proposal makes some improvements in the gross inequalities which have developed since the last reapportionment in 1917 but prescribes a formula for the future which fails to satisfy the large cities. In case the legislature fails to act for two sessions (as it consistently has, not only in New York but in other states which have "the big city problem"), the job is to be turned over to a commission appointed by the courts—two members appointed by judges in New York City and eight by judges outside New York City. If the people reject the commission's reapportionment at the polls, no provision for a substitute is made until the next apportionment is due. Strong sentiment among civic leaders for consideration of the proportional representation system of voting, which would have equably and permanently solved the reapportionment problem, fell on deaf ears.

The worst action of the convention was the deal calculated to strike a death blow at the use of proportional representation anywhere in the state, including New York City. This is discussed in greater detail in another editorial in this issue.

The convention approved a dubious proposal to make every pension arrangement a "contractual relationship" after July 1, 1940, which apparently would make any pension benefit, once granted by a legislature or city council, impossible to rescind, no matter how unjustified by the extent of employee contribution. Veterans' preference, however, was voted down, together with a two-year residence restriction on applicants for civil service appointments.

The convention's work was curiously "spotty." Some very able and public-spirited leaders worked long and unselfishly and succeeded in writing

numerous improvements into the document which will be submitted to the voters in November.

Among the eight questions which will be put before the voters separately and apart from the main proposal will be proposals for housing and slum clearance, sanctioning the use of public money and credit for social security purposes, and permitting New York City to borrow $315,000,000 outside its debt limit for purchases to bring about the much needed unification of its transit lines.

But such controversial items as the pension amendment, permission to use public funds for denominational school transportation, and limitations on powers of taxation are unfortunately lumped, so that all must be approved or rejected together, with a considerable number of clearly beneficial proposals.

A few of these latter are: authority to use permanent personal registration, a signature requirement for voting anywhere in the state, helpful extensions of city, county, and village home rule, a modification of the tax limit to encourage pay-as-you-go financing for city capital improvements, an extension of the serial bond system, greatly improved municipal finance provisions, a provision for forfeiture of office if public officials refuse to testify concerning their official conduct, and a requirement that all bills, without exception, be on the desks of the legislators in final form before final passage.

Thus there is bad and good in the proposed constitution. Voters will have to be more discriminating than usual to separate the chaff from the wheat. The temptation will be to reject it entirely, as they did a good constitution in 1915. While that action was a keen disappointment at the time to men who had labored hard and honestly, it worked out well in the long run because in the interim practically all of the 1915 convention's important proposals have been inserted in the constitution singly by amendment.

As the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW said editorially when the delegates first met last April, there is no great hurry. But there *is* a need to rebuke "practical politics" and encourage constructive statesmanship which tried to rise to the greatness of the opportunity.

John Randolph Haynes and His Work for Direct Government

The story of the untiring devotion and leadership of the man most responsible for the adoption and retention of the initiative, referendum, and recall in California.

By WINSTON W. CROUCH
University of California at Los Angeles

BRAND WHITLOCK once wrote, "The cure for the ills from which cities suffer is more democracy." Few movements grounded in that philosophy have made a more effective impact upon the institutions of politics and legislation in the United States than the progressive movement in the first part of this century. The fundamental symbols of that movement were those of democratic control over the legislative processes of government. Born out of antagonism to an entrenched leadership that had consolidated its control won in the politics of expansion and business development, the progressive group found its leaders in a group of newspaper men, attorneys, and business men who were masters of the art of direct appeal to crowds of voters. Three of the reforms consistently urged by the progressives were the initiative, referendum, and recall. In these three devices this group believed they had found the necessary implements by which controlled groups, or the "machine," could be thwarted or defeated.

California has offered especially fertile soil for such ideas. The political adjustments in this state in 1900 were not unlike those of many other states—a tightly knit hierarchy of political control dominated by the emissaries of a certain few large corporations. Within the California scene, however, was an abundance of material for leadership that was drawn more into insurgent ranks than into the machine. Revolt was in the temper of these times, but California still continued, in quieter times, to make extensive use of the direct government tools producd by this earlier movement. In twenty-seven years the California constitution has been amended sixteen times by initiative. Twenty-seven acts of the legislature have been referred to the people for popular vote, and in seventeen of these cases the legislature has been reversed. Thirty-eight statutes have been initiated, of which eleven have been approved by the voters. The recall has been used sparingly against state officers, although it has been used with greater frequency in smaller cities.[1]

The preparation of the way for the initiative, referendum, and recall in California was largely the work of one person, Dr. John R. Haynes, a wealthy man of strong democratic beliefs. By the time the progressives had captured control of the California legislature and the governor's office under Hiram Johnson, in 1910, the ideas of direct government had been solidly laid in important quarters by Dr. Haynes. For more than thirty-five years he was the recognized champion of direct government, to whom its friends turned for leadership, and with whom its opponents had to reckon. An analysis of the techniques employed in securing adoption of these instruments of popular government constitute an interesting case study in the methods of successful political reform. No less interesting are the techniques employed to consolidate and protect the gains won.

[1]See Bird, Frederick, and Ryan, F. M., *Recall of Public Officers,* New York, Macmillan, 1930.

The methods were essentially those of "practical" politics applied in realistic fashion to consumate an ideal.

From 1900 until his death on October 30, 1937, Dr. Haynes was a tireless worker for popular government. Among his interests, other than "the triplets of direct government," were public ownership and the direct primary. As a wealthy physician with a wide acquaintanceship, he commanded extensive publicity for his various undertakings.

Dr. Haynes was typical in many respects of a group of leaders all too small in this country—well-to-do men of large affairs who maintain an effective belief in liberal politics. His interest in reform and good government seems to have been the result partly of family tradition and partly of his own belief in the hard common sense of responsible government. His understanding of the methods of politics came from close observation of the municipal government process in Philadelphia, where he lived as a young man, and later in Los Angeles. From these observations he developed the point of view which he expressed: "Even the election of good men to office, when through Herculean effort this was spasmodically achieved, frequently failed to produce any marked effect, through reason of the fact that these men often failed to remain good." Other modes of legislative action had to be kept open, in his opinion. He maintained a steadfast belief in the innate honesty of the mass of voters, and insisted that if the proper instruments of political control were placed before the electorate, our representative form of government would function honestly and effectively. His keen interest in popular government led him to participate in several programs for more effective political control. For many years until the time of his death he was honorary vice-president of the National Municipal League, and took an active part in the League's programs. His passing has removed a notable character from a scene of activities that was wider than his adopted state of California.

Although the friends of the initiative, referendum, and recall sought to develop their reforms on state-wide scales, their earlier successes were won in the cities. Within the processes of amending home rule charters they found the most practical approaches to their goal. Under the constitution of 1879 California cities had been granted the home rule privilege of drafting their own charters for submission to the legislature. San Francisco became the first major city to adopt the initiative and referendum, when it placed those devices in its charter in 1899.

In the 1900 election of a board of freeholders to write a new charter for the city of Los Angeles, Dr. Haynes polled the largest vote of all candidates. Declining the position of chairman, for which his voting strength made him a candidate, he maneuvered the selection of a friend who could be counted upon to make satisfactory committee appointments. Haynes was appointed chairman of the committee on legislation and from that position carried on the campaign for inserting direct legislation provisions in the new charter.

COURTS INTERFERE

The work of this freeholder committee was nullified, however, by the courts on technical grounds, and a new committee was selected in 1902. Haynes was not a member of the committee and was, therefore, forced to work from the outside. The chief device used on this occasion was that stand-by of those seeking to influence legislation, the banquet. Dr. Haynes wished to have Eltweed Pomeroy, of the Direct Legislation League, explain direct legislation to the freeholders, but knew that a lecture would avail nothing. An elaborate dinner, however, was staged at Levy's, the fashionable restaurant of the city, on the same evening as the scheduled

meeting of the freeholders. The chef was instructed to spare nothing for the delight of the guests. As the hour for the freeholders' meeting neared it was apparent that those persons had forgotten their scheduled conclave. Whereupon it was suggested that the minute books be brought to the restaurant, a meeting of the freeholders could be conducted without moving from the pleasant surroundings, and Eltweed Pomeroy would discuss certain matters! In deference to a genial host this suggestion was followed. Pomeroy was sufficiently lucid so that at the conclusion of his discourse a motion was made and carried to submit direct legislation proposals with the charter.

With the adoption of this charter of 1903, Los Angeles became the first city in the United States to establish the recall as a means for controlling elected officials. The recall of an erring councilman, together with two successful threats of recall that defeated corrupt franchise "grabs," advertised the advantages of direct government to other cities in California. It appeared as an attractive weapon to independent groups who were then becoming aroused at the audacious and sometimes crude methods employed by local "machines" which were appearing as evidences of the increasing urbanization of California.

ORGANIZATION EFFECTED

During these early maneuvers the Direct Legislation League of California was organized as the formal instrument by which the campaign for direct legislation was to be waged among the legislators and prominent citizens. Although its active membership consisted largely of two men, Dr. Haynes, president, and Mr. George Dunlap, secretary, it was an effective organization. One of its chief tools was an impressive letterhead which could be materialized when the necessities of legislative campaigns demanded. A sturdy array of vice-presidents included executive officers of large corporations, high churchmen, prominent professional people, and leaders in various groups. In gathering this list the leaders of the league betrayed a slightly Machievellian tendency. Leaders of such groups as organized labor, the temperance organizations, Socialists, and similar militant minorities were recruited for their value, but the names were always offset by others representing business and the professions. On one occasion it was found advisable to include a representative of the brewers among the list, lest that group regard the league as being committed to a program that aimed to destroy their business. This was made all the more necessary by the fact that the "Drys" had made enthusiastic use of the initiative in Los Angeles and San Francisco when that instrument was added to the charters of those cities. The league rallied support from all groups that stood to gain by use of the direct legislation devices, but refused to be identified with any stereotyped symbols other than those traditionally "respectable."

As success came in the cities, the friends of direct government turned toward the state capital. From 1901 to 1911 Dr. Haynes employed the techniques of legislative lobbying, in which he maintained a certain standing even with such "bosses" as Abraham Ruef and Walter Herrin, whose activities might ultimately be curbed by direct legislation. This leader of reform differed in many ways from the stereotype of a reformer. He was willing to hobnob with the bosses and work through the existing political machinery to get an opening wedge for his proposals. He regularly waited upon the steering groups of district political conventions in an attempt to have a direct government plank installed in the party platforms. Friends were recruited in both parties. On one occasion there were two factions contending for the chairmanship of the

Republican district convention. Dr. Haynes went to each candidate and arranged an agreement whereby if either man were made chairman, the other would be made vice-chairman, and certain men would be appointed to the resolutions committee. Such maneuvers were possible because of the wide acquaintanceship of the doctor among those politically active in the state. A large medical practice gave him access to many of the business, professional, and political leaders of Los Angeles. Some of these came to know him as their family physician. For example, the doctor numbered among his patients the family of the state senator who introduced direct legislation amendments at one session. While these contacts were important in obtaining introduction of bills in the legislature, the necessary political strength to guarantee passage was lacking. Nevertheless, this patient campaigning was destined to bear fruit.

Necessary political strength to carry adoption of the initiative, referendum, and recall was recruited in the insurgent political movement known in California as the Lincoln-Roosevelt League. This league, which had its roots in an independent group in the Los Angeles city elections of 1906, captured the Republican state organization in 1910, and under the progressive banner dominated state and local affairs for several years. The entire movement originated in revolt against the powerful political machine that worked under the guidance of the Southern Pacific Railroad. The machine, operating ostensibly as a state organization, felt it necessary to maintain a working alliance with local city machines such as the notorious Ruef-Schmitz organization in San Francisco and the less publicized, but efficient Los Angeles city organization. This organization and its satellites dominated the political and economic life of the state.

In the 1906 municipal elections in Los Angeles the Non-Partisan City Central Committee, as the independents were known, won a surprising victory over the machine, winning nineteen of the twenty elective offices. Enheartened by this victory, the leaders of this Los Angeles coup assisted citizens in other cities to organize similar campaigns. Such cities as Sacramento, Oakland, and San Francisco began to show signs of successful revolt, electing independent mayors and councilmen. In 1907 the Schmitz-Ruef regime was broken in San Francisco by the famous graft prosecutions, and renewed attention was given to popular government.

Exposures of machine control were multiplying so that the revolt movement took on a state-wide aspect. After the close of the 1907 legislature, Chester H. Rowell, legislative writer for the *Fresno Republican,* and Edward A. Dickson, of the *Los Angeles Express,* called a group of independents to meet in Los Angeles May 21, 1907, to consider organization for a state-wide campaign. Dr. John R. Haynes of the Direct Legislation League was one of the fifteen men who attended that meeting. Out of that assembly came the Lincoln-Roosevelt League.

Three points of activity were decided upon as a policy for the new league: (1) to break the control of the Southern Pacific machine, if possible; (2) to secure the adoption of (a) the initiative, referendum, and recall, and (b) the direct primary; (3) to secure woman suffrage. A second meeting, held at Oakland August 1, 1907, laid plans for an extensive campaign under the chairmanship of Chester Rowell. In 1908 the league elected nearly a majority of both houses of the legislature, and secured passage of a direct primary law that became the opening wedge for their successful campaign of 1910. In the latter year the league elected a state ticket headed by Hiram Johnson as governor, and moved into control of the Republican state organization and of the elective offices of the state. In two and a

half years the Lincoln-Roosevelt League had defeated the once impregnable machine and had obtained control of the political institutions of the state.

In his inaugural address to the legislature, Governor Johnson placed the full strength of his administration behind the initiative, referendum, and recall. The progressives generally held the belief that, although they as a group might pass from the scene in a few years, instruments of popular government should be left available in the law, whereby aroused groups might preserve the control over government that they had fought to obtain. A constitutional amendment embodying these proposals passed the 1911 legislature and was approved by the electorate after one of the bitterest battles ever waged over a state measure. This bitterness centered largely around the recall of the judiciary, although the entire direct government philosophy was fought vigorously.[2]

Passage of this amendment culminated an eleven-year campaign wherein the cities had led the way. By 1910 twenty home rule cities of California had voted to incorporate direct government provisions in their charters. The 1911 amendment extended these privileges to voters in all cities as well as to those of the state at large.

For a period of four years after the direct government amendment was approved, there was little effective opposition. Enthusiasm was at a high pitch. Having won a victory in legislative elections, there appeared to be little cause for the groups that had supported the initiative and referendum to make use of those devices at that time. By 1915, however, interest had receded sufficiently to permit proposals to restrict the exercise of initiative, referendum, and recall to be entertained. The most important of the suggested limitations had considerable precedent to support it. It was proposed that initiative bond propositions should require a two-thirds vote of the electorate for approval. The two-thirds vote requirement had been in operation for several years with regard to local bond elections and the voters were conditioned to such a limitation. After a vigorous campaign, however, by the Direct Legislative League as well as individuals who had but recently become apostles of the new freedom, the 1915 proposal was rejected.

EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP

It is indeed a great tribute to the political effectiveness of Dr. Haynes and his associates that since 1911 no other proposal to limit, repeal, or seriously alter the initiative, referendum, and recall laws has passed the legislature. While there were many who shared in the legislative battles that occurred from time to time as opponents sought to repeal and alter these laws, it was always to the venerable pioneer of the movement that they turned for leadership. During his lifetime Dr. Haynes attended some portion of each legislative session. Newspaper representatives, legislators, state officeholders, and lobbyists kept him posted on events and sources of strength and opposition. Under the rules of the bifurcated session of the California legislature, no bills may be introduced after the first thirty days without special permission. Therefore, most major legislative proposals are known by the end of the first part of the session. Legislators can be contacted and the undesirable features of legislation pointed out. The leaders of the Direct Legislation League were so skillful in their tactics that most antagonistic bills died in legislative committee. All legislative proposals were analyzed carefully, and a statement of the effect that the bill would have was sent out to every legislator. Usually the mere

[2]See Franklin Hitchborn's *The Story of the California Legislature of 1911* (San Francisco, 1911) for an interesting account of this maneuver.

analysis and publication of the bill's defects were sufficient to defeat it.

A large amount of the success of protecting direct government laws from amendment by the legislature is due, no doubt, to the fact that very early there grew up a bloc of groups that had a vested interest in protecting some phase of direct government. At one time or another the public school groups, the "drys," organized labor, farm groups, and others could be rallied to support the initiative because they had obtained favorable legislation by that means. An example that illustrates this situation is found in the state school support amendment of 1920. A growing school population, coupled with demands for improved facilities, had forced school authorities to appeal to the legislature as well as to local boards for a greater support of schools. It was felt that the legislature had lagged in granting assistance to districts and hence was forcing the schools to choose between the dilemma of a greater burden upon local tax bases or a lesser school program and lower salaries for teachers. A state constitutional amendment initiated by teacher groups and school organizations in 1920 placed a fixed charge upon the state and counties for support of elementary and secondary schools. The results of this campaign brought the school groups solidly within the ranks of the proponents of the initiative.

OPPOSITION TO INITIATIVE

Inasmuch as the initiative is primarily a device by which groups may seek legislation that cannot be obtained through the normal processes, it is not surprising that efforts to limit popular government were usually aimed at that device alone. The chief criticism of the opponents of the initiative is forcefully summed up in the following quotations from an editorial in the *Los Angeles Times*, October 11, 1917:

"Direct legislation, on the other hand, is mob legislation; it is the tyranny of the majority. . . . Their fault is the fault of all direct legislation; the amendments did not represent the sentiment of the whole people, but were prepared and presented by a small minority of fanatics who sought to dictate in place of submitting to the rule of the people. . . . Under direct legislation deliberation over the justice and equity of an act is impossible. . . . Its vice lies in its lack of opportunity for discussion and amendment—for the threshing and winnowing processes without which legislation is a contradiction in terms. . . ."

Those who remain unconvinced of the desirability of direct legislation have sought either to repeal the laws permitting its use, or failing in that, have sought to limit its scope so that it will not provide any important by-pass from legislative control. Attacks upon the initiative show a noticeable tendency toward similarity, and may be grouped into four main patterns.[3] The most persistent, and most effective, is the suggestion that the percentage of signatures required upon initiative and referendum petitions be increased. Similar in purpose is the plan to exclude such matters as taxation from the province of the initiative. A proposal less frequently urged is that signatures to petitions be affixed only in the presence of some designated official located at a central place such as the courthouse. A fourth, which concerns the vital process of gathering signatures to a petition, is that payment of petition circulators shall be forbidden by law. All of the plans have shown a remarkable tendency to reappear periodically before the legislature. All of them seriously limit the initiative in its original purpose, or, as Dr. Haynes repeatedly pointed

[3]More fully developed in Key, V. O., Jr., and Crouch, W. W., *The Initiative and Referendum in California* (to be published by the University of California Press). Franklin Hichborn, "Sources of Opposition to Direct Legislation in California," Commonwealth Club of California, *Transactions* XXV (1930) 520.

out, place the advantage with large concerns that have the benefits of organization, a large treasury, and skillful publicity work. The continuing theme of the proponents of direct legislation in California has been that it is a vehicle which must be left available to all groups that can muster any respectable strength.

This latter point of view was put to the test in 1920 and 1922 when the opponents of the initiative attempted to strike at it through the very unpopular single tax. Single tax plans had been placed on the ballot three times by means of the initiative, and each time had been defeated decisively. On the plea that their proposal would not jeopardize other types of initiative measures the Anti-Single Tax League proposed an initiative measure that would require 25 per cent of those voting at the last election to initiate any tax measure. Members of the Direct Legislation League found themselves in a curious situation. The legal system they had sponsored was being attacked by a constitutional amendment proposed through the initiative, and in principle they were forced to defend a group for whose tenets they had no very great sympathy! The 1920 campaign on this issue was perhaps the most strenuously fought issue on direct legislation of any occasion since the memorable struggle of 1911. However, Dr. Haynes and his group were able to steer the ship of direct legislation safely between the Scylla and Charybdis of the opposing factions.[4] The same group that had fostered the 25 per cent proposal returned to the attack in 1922, but with less vigor. The same slogans and arguments were paraded, but they failed to impress a majority of the voters. The high tide of opposition to the initiative in California had been reached in 1920.

Out of these struggles to maintain the initiative in its original form was born a new campaign vehicle, the League to Protect the Initiative. This organization was almost identical in its leadership with the older Direct Legislation League. The chief difference lay in the fact that the newer group was dedicated to political action "to defeat any and all attacks open or covert that tend(ed) to impair or destroy the power of the people to initiate legislation according to the present provisions of the constitution." The tactics of protection were of necessity somewhat different from the maneuvers of promotion. As experiences with the initiative, referendum, and recall multiplied the league could develop its case from examples rather than from hopes. All who were concerned with the work of the league regarded the leadership as belonging to Dr. Haynes. From his office in Los Angeles, which was partly a library and partly a headquarters, he carried on a considerable correspondence. Officeholders and those active in political work sought him out. As a member of the water and power commission of the city of Los Angeles, he maintained an active part in affairs wherein he could wield large influence. At eighty-four the doctor remained an active general at headquarters, directing the campaigns on the various fronts in which he was concerned.

Just prior to his final illness plans were made for the continuance of an organized leadership—one more institutionalized, but in keeping with the more established position of the initiative, referendum, and recall in California political life. The vast collection of documents, correspondence, and source material which had been gathered was delegated to the administration of an endowed foundation. The Direct Legislation League was to be reconstituted with responsibility lodged with a picked board of trustees which would have power of coöption.

(Continued on Page 453)

[4]See John R. Haynes, "California Sticks to the Initiative and Referendum," National Municipal Review, XII (1923), 116-118.

State-Municipal Coöperation in Purchasing

By
STUART A. MacCORKLE
Director, Bureau of Municipal Research, University of Texas

Although local governments may secure supplies through their state purchasing departments in at least five states, but little use has been made of this opportunity to cut costs.

DESPITE the fact that practically nothing has appeared in print dealing with the extent of state-municipal cooperation in purchasing, it should be recognized that such an arrangement is made possible in at least five of our states today. A questionnaire sent to every state in the union revealed that Michigan, New Hampshire, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wisconsin all provide some workable system whereby municipalities or counties or both may purchase through the state agency; and Pennsylvania, while recently establishing the necessary statutory provisions, apparently has yet to provide the administrative machinery.

Detailed information concerning state-municipal relationships in regard to purchasing is difficult to obtain; in many instances it cannot be procured because of incomplete records or the absence of statistical data. Restricted by these hazards, a treatment of this comparatively new and undeveloped state-city relationship will be incomplete; yet at the same time, it is believed, it will prove instructive.

Michigan in 1919 enacted legislation which provided for municipal use of the state purchasing agency. The act provided that all supplies, merchandise, and articles, including building materials necessary for the maintenance, extension, or operation of all state penal, reformatory, charitable, and educational institutions, except the University of Michigan and the Michigan Agricultural College, should be purchased through the state agency. The act further provided that if at any time the University of Michigan, the Michigan Agricultural College, or any city or county institutions should desire to join with the state institutions in making their purchases under provisions of this act, they could do so, but no city or county was permitted to have any voice in the selection of the advisory board.[1] Under the statute it is permissible for the municipalities within the state to use the state organization if they so desire, the state neither assuming the initiative nor shouldering the financial responsibility for purchases made by the local subdivisions. According to the information obtained from the state purchasing agency the cities of the state have never availed themselves of these statutory provisions. No explanation was offered for their neglect; however, since the statute was permissive and the cities have taken no steps to bring about its execution, it is assumed that they are not interested. Again, it should be recalled at this time that the cities in Michigan have demonstrated a live interest in buying through the Michigan Municipal League. It may be that their wants are cared for through the latter agency.

The New Hampshire law of 1919 provided for the utilization of the state purchasing agency but only by the counties. Here again the statute was permissive, for it directed that the state

[1] *Compiled Laws of Michigan, 1929*, sec. 239.

agency should purchase all materials and supplies for the county institutions whenever the county commissioners of any county desired to avail themselves of the privilege.[2] The most significant item in the act is the interpretation of the powers of the state purchasing agent and the relationship of the state to the locality. Here is the only instance among the five states where, although the impetus for starting the action rests with the local community, the transaction takes place through the state and the state is responsible for the debt and must collect from the county. At least this is true in theory, although apparently it has not been practiced, for in the few instances reported it seems that the state placed the orders which were sent direct to the county, and the county paid the vendor. The state did not handle the money nor did it collect any service charge. There is no assurance that the county will secure the state price in the purchase, although such is obviously the intent and has occurred in practice.

LITTLE USED IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

The plan is virtually dormant in New Hampshire. During the year 1937 an estimated $500 worth of materials were purchased through the state agency for counties. Merrimack County, in which the state capital is located, purchased through the state agency but once during the past year and only three or four times since its establishment in 1919. Apparently other counties of the state have not availed themselves of the opportunity. As to why the method has been used so infrequently, information is not available. Neither state nor county officials seem to be interested in applying the law, and when used no attempt has been made to apply it for purposes other than institutional materials and supplies.

Perhaps the most comprehensive statutory provisions for state-municipal buying now to be found exist in the state of Virginia. In 1924 a general overhauling of the state purchasing department was made, and in the same session of the general assembly provision was made for state purchasing aids to the local units.[3]

The statute is significant for three reasons. In the first place it is permissive, placing the responsibility for requesting the right to purchase through the state on the municipality. In the second place the responsibility for making contracts with the vendor, whereby the municipalities may purchase under the terms of the state agreement, rests with the state. And the third item of importance is that the state assumes no financial responsibility for the contracts of the municipalities. Payment is made direct as though the state purchasing agent had never entered the picture. The plan assumes that the municipality will secure the state price on all articles procured in this manner.

How widely is the device used by Virginia cities? Within the first four years of its enactment no instance of use by municipalities occurred, although a few experimental orders were placed by the counties during the period. In one of these instances a county was able to secure equipment for a home for the poor at price reductions of 20 to 33 1-3 per cent. According to reports from the League of Virginia Municipalities, cities have made relatively little use of the device, although the counties have used it more generally.

Mr. P. E. Ketron, recently appointed purchasing director for Virginia, in commenting upon the state system said: "I am in a position to give you only the total amount of purchases made by counties and cities through this office for the fiscal year July 1936-37, $13,683.00,

[2] *Public Laws of New Hampshire, 1926*, ch. 9, sec. 11.

[3] For the complete statute see *Acts and Joint Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Virginia, 1924*, ch. 9.

which of course is a very small amount. . . . It is my intention to go into this matter further at a later date with the idea of encouraging the municipalities and counties to use the facilities of our department where desired in making their purchases."[4]

Virginia must be pointed to as the state where the most extensive use of state-municipal coöperation in purchasing exists.

In 1935 West Virginia created a department of purchasing for all departments not otherwise provided for. Municipal purchasing through the state organization was made possible; all expenses incurred were to be met by the local governing body.[5] Here again the statute was permissive and upon the municipality was placed the power to initiate the process. The state was given power to draw the contracts with the vendor whereby the city might purchase at state prices, the city paying the vendor direct in all cases.

Various sources indicate that no municipalities have to date utilized the process, although county organizations, particularly school boards, have done so. The municipalities have simultaneously developed a coöperative purchasing plan under which they purchase fire hose. The major reason given for the failure to use the state purchasing plan is asserted to be the lack of confidence in the sterility of state politics.

SCHOOLS IMPORTANT BUYERS

While no figures are available on the total amount of purchases made under the plan, it seems safe to assume that they have been small. Three commodities are suggested as being among those most commonly bought through the state: gasoline, oil, and tires, all of which tend to demonstrate that the school organizations have been the important buyers.

The four states mentioned above have specific provisions for municipal utilization of the state purchasing agency, but the most significant development of the process occurs in a state where no specific provisions are to be found. Wisconsin established a central bureau of purchases in 1929. Here arrangements for municipal purchasing are carried out by statutory implications rather than by expressed provision.[6]

What happens in Wisconsin is that the state purchasing agency actually makes arrangements for its own purchases and in so doing includes in those arrangements provisions that the localities may purchase at the same price if they so desire.

The state officials are very careful to point out that the arrangements which they make with vendors, whereby the municipalities may purchase at the state contract price, make it clear that the state assumes no financial responsibility for the municipal contracts. The fiscal relationships are entirely between the municipalities and the vendors. The vendors make their agreement with the municipalities.

The initiative under this plan rests entirely with the locality. The state does not solicit participation. If the locality wishes to use the arrangement, the state facilities are at its disposal, but the state agency intentionally refrains from urging participation. It is logical that this should occur because it is apparent that the vendor would not look with approval on any publicized statement of the state agency that it could purchase commodities for municipalities more cheaply from the same vendor. Likewise local units with "buy-at-home" policies would not favor pressure from the state government.

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[4] From a letter dated March 17, 1938.

[5] *Acts of the West Virginia Legislature, Regular Session, 1935*, ch. 25a, sec. 18.

[6] See *Wisconsin Statutes, 1931*, ch. 15, sec. 28, subsec. 2.

No additional administrative machinery is required. The state does nothing beyond extending the contractual terms to the localities. It does, however, provide information on prices and specifications. No provision is made for reporting the value or number of purchases made through the state agency, and thus no statistics on the extent of the service are available.

The counties of Wisconsin apparently have made more use of the state purchasing agency than have the cities. An estimate of the extent of these purchases indicates that perhaps 80 per cent of the former have on occasion purchased tires and tubes, and that from 50 to 60 per cent have purchased highway paint, while virtually all of them have secured highway patrol flags in this manner. On the other hand, requests for information on the extent to which the facilities were used in one section of the state indicated that one of the major counties made no use of it whatsoever.

While exact information is not available, it is estimated that counties buying through the state saved about 10 per cent on tires and tubes, fifty cents a gallon on highway paint, and ten cents each on highway flags.

The reasons why the state service has not expanded in Wisconsin are commonplace. There is the desire to protect home-town industry, a lack of information on the available facilities of the state, the ability of the municipality to approximate the state price in its contracts, the small number of significant purchases, and the desire to cater to the idiosyncrasies of department heads in the selection of brands. In Wisconsin as elsewhere an aggressive attitude has never been assumed by the state.

PENNSYLVANIA ENTERS THE PICTURE

The most recent development in establishing a relationship between the state and municipal purchasing agencies has been in Pennsylvania. The *American City* reports that "under laws passed and made effective this year, Quaker State cities, counties, boroughs, and townships may turn to the newly established State Department of Property and Supplies for prices and other information about the commodities they must buy, the Governmental Research Association reports. The new state purchasing department hopes to be able to negotiate contracts with the vendors supplying the state which will permit municipalities to secure commodities at the same prices paid by the state."[7]

Attempts to secure additional information have brought conflicting reports. While state officials indicate that no arrangements exist for providing the information, although occasionally requests are made and answered, a study of the session laws of 1937 reveals that provisions exist for such an arrangement.[8]

The assumption is that the municipality is eligible to receive the proffered information if it will make the request. The remaining portions of the scheme are probably a hope rather than a realization. It seems evident that the arrangement has not yet become effective, and that no information is yet available.

Other states like Alabama, California, Kansas, Nebraska, and New York have and are demonstrating some interest in state-municipal purchasing, but to little avail. However, the Irish Free State has not only adopted the plan but apparently finds it workable.[9]

In the American states attempting state coöperation in the field of municipal buying there is much to be done. Although savings in many instances are possible, the plan has not met with great enthusiasm. Many motives of an intangible nature may be found to

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[7] "Improved Municipal Administration," *The American City*, Jan. 1938, p. 102.

[8] *Pennsylvania Laws of 1937*, sec. 2403 (f).

[9] "Coöperative Purchasing in the Irish Free State," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, May 1938, pp. 254-260.

Recreation to the Fore in American Cities

By
WEAVER W. PANGBURN
National Recreation Association

Facilities for public recreation have grown markedly in many cities during recent years as American people become increasingly recreation-conscious.

THE total expenditure of the American people for recreation was computed at over a billion dollars in 1909 and nearly four and a half billions in 1935.[1] The great bulk of this outlay was for what might strictly be called passive amusement. Yet the types of leisure activity that involve participation have gained on those requiring only watching, listening, and sitting. As this appetite for participation has increased, demand for municipal recreation facilities and activities has mounted.

The following brief review attempts to show how much municipal recreation service has expanded in recent years and the trends in that expansion. The subject has been developed under the following topics: areas, facilities, activities, personnel, management, and expenditures.

RECREATION AREAS

A total of 389,000 acres of park and recreation space in 15,300 areas was reported by 1,216 communities of 2,500 population or over in 1935.[2] In 1925 only 245,627 acres were recorded. In 665 identical cities, there was a 49 per cent expansion of acreage in this ten-year period. The most marked growth, 114 per cent, was in cities of from 2,500 to 5,000 population. Park expansion did not come to a halt with the onset of the depression but it was much greater between 1925 and 1930 than between 1930 and 1935.

Using one acre of parks to every hundred of population as a standard, it becomes apparent that most communities fall short of the goal. The average number of persons per acre of parks in 1,068 cities was 368. In 268 selected cities, however, each of which ranked in the highest 25 per cent in its respective population group, the number of persons per acre actually averaged 64!

Yet many of the cities boasting large park acreage have much of it outside their boundary lines. These "out-of-the-city" parks, in fact, now comprise one-third of all municipal park lands. Twenty California cities report such parks. Illinois has twenty, Texas eighteen, and Pennsylvania seventeen. The largest of these parks is the 14,640-acre area owned by Phoenix, Arizona; Denver has the second largest, 12,747 acres. These outlying properties offer hiking, camping, nature study, water sports, winter sports, picnicking, and fishing within easy reach of the homes of many people.

The most common type of urban recreation area is the small neighborhood park. Some of these parks, devoid of facilities for active recreation and situated in populous neighborhoods, have been allowed to deteriorate into unattractive roosting places for ne'er-do-wells. They might well be rebuilt in part at least as playgrounds.

Studies in 1925 and again in 1930 showed that few cities were providing sufficient playgrounds and playfields,

[1] Cleveland Trust Company *Business Bulletin*, October 15, 1937.

[2] Park statistics on this and following pages are taken from *Municipal and County Parks*, 1935, U. S. Department of the Interior.

both of which type of areas are needed in each neighborhood or district, and 1935 revealed that little progress had been made in correcting this lack. Such areas comprise only 5 per cent of the total park acreage reported in contrast with the 20 per cent that is considered a desirable minimum.

FACILITIES

While the depression slowed up the expansion of recreation areas, it stimulated their development, for the federal government placed small armies of emergency workers on construction and development projects. For example, Robert Moses, New York City park commissioner, had seventy thousand relief workers with whom he rehabilitated a badly run down park system and increased playgrounds from 119 to 274, swimming pools from two to twelve, golf courses from seven to ten, and tennis courts from 355 to 567, along with many other improvements.

In 1935 at least 50 per cent more cities reported several facilities than reported them ten years previously. These facilities were bathing beaches, golf courses, ice skating rinks, outdoor theatres, ski jumps, swimming pools, tennis courts, toboggan slides, and wading pools. Wading pools quadrupled in the decade. Baseball diamonds and golf courses nearly doubled. Recreation buildings doubled from 1925 to 1930, but more than doubled again from 1930 to 1935, totalling 1,045 in the latter year. Tourist camps declined in number.

The following list shows the numbers of major facilities located both in park and non-park areas as reported to date:

Municipal Recreation Facilities

Tennis courts	11,031
Children's playgrounds	9,618
Horseshoe courts	8,482
Softball diamonds	8,384
Fireplaces	5,069
Baseball diamonds	3,978
Indoor recreation centers	3,854
Picnic areas	2,808
Ice skating areas	2,535
Handball courts	1,600
Shuffleboard courts	1,541
Athletic fields	1,445
Wading pools	1,402
Recreation buildings	1,380
Swimming pools	1,163
Bathing beaches	569
Golf courses	378
Archery ranges	326
Bowling greens	165
Nature trails	310
Dance pavilions	236

The list shows not only the sheer numbers of facilities but also their diversity, a significant aspect of municipal recreation development. The varied character of modern recreation systems is well illustrated in Chicago's array of park facilities which in addition to all the features listed above includes bath houses, cricket fields, a bicycle bowl, boating lagoons, bridle paths, casting pools, gymnasiums, boccie courts, model yacht basins, roque courts, and rifle ranges.

Many facilities used for recreation are school-controlled. Forty-three per cent of all playgrounds operated under leadership in 1937 were on school property and forty-two of all athletic fields reported were school-owned. Indoor facilities also were largely school property as 86 per cent of all indoor pools and two-thirds of the auditoriums, gymnasiums, and other indoor recreation centers reported were in school buildings.

ACTIVITIES

Along with the rapid increase in physical activities offered in municipal recreation has come a steady increase in crafts, music, and drama. In public parks the most notable advance from 1930 to 1935 was made in nature activities. In this period the number of cities reporting nature activities grew from 59 to 142. In 754-acre Oglebay Park, Wheeling, West Virginia—a very good example of nature work—are nature trails, a museum, and a nature school. Field trips, illustrated lectures, camp nature activities, science hobby clubs, "telescope nights," tree-planting pro-

grams, nature collections, public camp fires, nature exhibits, and the preparation of publications on nature are some of the features of the program. Few other cities promote the study of nature on this scale, but the idea is spreading.

Illustrative of the range of activities in progressive recreation systems in small cities is the program reported in Greenwich, Connecticut. In 1937 the recreation board there conducted handcraft, thirteen types of athletics, two types of dancing, one type of music, five types of drama, camping, gardening, picnicking, swimming, three winter sports, and six miscellaneous activities. The number of individual participants ranged from fifteen in puppetry to 4,075 in social dancing.

The country round, physical activities still lead in popularity. Softball, recorded by 768 cities last year, appears to be the most widespread. Others represented in five hundred to seven hundred cities are tennis, baseball, horseshoes, volley ball, children's handcraft, track and field events, and picnicking. In terms of different individual participants reported, swimming leads with 875,864; community-wide celebrations are second, picnicking third, baseball fourth, and softball fifth. Beaches and outdoor pools in 1937 recorded a total participation of nearly 100,000,000 persons. Picnicking and other informal uses of park areas have increased greatly in those cities which provide fire places, drinking water, and other conveniences.

Public participation in recreation depends on a variety of factors including popular training in recreation skills received in school or through recreation departments, leadership and organizing service, charges and fees, custom, the shift in weekend and evening habits due to the automobile and the five-day work week, current recreation fads, and the impact of commercial promotion as well as available facilities. A close study of these factors in every city might drastically alter local recreation policies.

PERSONNEL

The *Year Book* of the National Recreation Association reported 22,160 municipally-paid supervisors and leaders in public recreation in eight hundred cities in 1937. This is the largest total since 1932. Contrary to pre-depression ratios, 56 per cent of this personnel were men. The 1937 increase in personnel was two thousand over that of 1936, which in turn had been fifteen hundred over the 1935 figure. These increases reflected in part the rebuilding of staffs for regular recreation service and in part an increase of cities conducting public recreation activities. More significant than the total personnel is the number of year-round full-time workers. Of these, 3,067 were reported in 1937. This is the largest number on record. These 3,067 workers paid from local funds constitute the professional personnel engaged in municipal recreation today.

In 1936 some seven hundred cities which reported a total of 20,052 leaders paid from local funds, also reported 26,498 emergency workers. In 1937 the emergency personnel dropped 31 per cent to 18,253, a figure nearly four thousand less than the personnel paid from regular funds. Even with this shift in ratios, it is obvious that much municipal recreation service today depends on federal subsidy.

Dependent as municipal recreation became during the depression on emergency funds for supplementary leaders, it grew even more dependent on that support for construction, development, and even maintenance workers in parks. In 1935, to choose a year for fair comparison, while there were seven emergency recreation leaders to six regular recreation leaders, there were at least fifteen or more emergency park workers to every

six regular workers.[3] The question is, as federal subsidies dry up, can the present expanded plant and program be operated with a shrunken "regular" personnel? Will public demand be strong enough to increase local appropriations sufficiently to make up the threatened shrinkage in programs?

In 1937 a professional organization of recreation workers was created. This organization will endeavor to raise standards of recreation service and in general to strengthen and protect public recreation.

Because of the growing requirements of recreation service, training has become a major issue. In response to the evident need, the National Recreation Association conducted a professional school in New York City from 1926 to 1935 and later a series of institutes in major cities. A large number of the school's graduates are now in important positions in municipal recreation. The association also has developed an apprentice system under which young men spend a year of work in recreation departments under stipends from the association.

Municipal recreation agencies now give much attention to training both paid and volunteer workers. In 1936 728 institutes were held in 221 cities.

Many colleges offer courses of training for recreation leaders, most of them in connection with physical education departments. A movement is now under way to have them set up unit recreation courses correlating the offerings of the several university departments that can contribute to more well rounded training.

MANAGING AUTHORITIES[4]

While the clash of theories over the administration of municipal recreation continues, individual communities realistically adopt the plan that promises earliest solution of their recreation needs.

The following table shows what agencies now manage recreation.

Type of managing authority	*Total agencies*	*Year-round agencies*
Authorities administering recreation as a separate function	255	151
Authorities administering recreation in conjunction with park service	282	79
Authorities administering recreation in conjunction with school service	179	25
Others	211	34
Total	927	289

It is apparent that, numerically, park departments maintain a small margin over separate recreation departments and a very large margin over schools as administering agencies when both year-round and seasonal programs are lumped together. But among the agencies giving year-round service, the separate departments are twice as numerous as the park departments and six times as numerous as school departments. And it is the year-round agencies that carry the greater part of organized recreation. Though less than a third of the total agencies, they operate more than one-half the playgrounds, 49 per cent of the indoor recreation centers, and 70 per cent of the recreation buildings. They employ 65 per cent of the workers and expend 75 per cent of the funds put out for recreation leadership.

Three analyses of trends in administration covering the periods 1923 to 1933, 1928 to 1936, and 1928 to 1937 yield these conclusions:

(1) Municipalities tend to regard year-round recreation service as a distinct municipal function for which they are setting up separate recreation departments, in most cases under boards or commissions.

(2) The greatest recreation progress

[3] Nine hundred and fifty-four cities reported 41,053 park workers paid from regular funds while 388 cities reported 102,761 emergency workers.

[4] This section is based largely on a chapter "Municipal Organization for Recreation" to appear in the forthcoming volume, *Introduction to Municipal Recreation*, to be issued by the National Recreation Association.

from 1923 to 1933 was made in cities where recreation was administered by separate boards.

(3) During the depression years recreation service was most fully maintained in cities with recreation boards.

(4) Since 1928 recreation has won better public support when administered as a separate function.

Whatever may be said about trends in administration, the preeminent fact about municipal recreation is that it must be a coöperative enterprise. Efficient recreation service requires close cooperation between city plan commissions, parks, schools, recreation departments, and other agencies, both in acquiring and utilizing facilities. An inquiry[5] in December 1937 revealed that in only 46 of 124 cities reporting was there cooperation between school boards and municipal governments in acquiring new areas and buildings. However, 80 per cent of 135 non-school recreation agencies reported the use of indoor school properties and 85 per cent the use of outdoor school property. In nearly two-thirds of the instances reported, the schools supplied janitor service and other expense necessary to open school buildings for recreation. There is a liberal use of outdoor park facilities by schools and other agencies but only a moderate use of park indoor facilities.

FINANCING RECREATION

Expenditures for municipal recreation rose steadily from 1922 to 1931, the first of three years of heavy losses. Early in 1934, cities began to rebuild budgets and since then the curve of outlays has steadily climbed upward. Referendum votes in Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Decatur, Illinois, and elsewhere showed that voters were ready to increase tax costs for good recreation programs. Depression experience showed that departments with separate tax levies suffered less than other agencies depending on annual appropriations.

In 1937 expenditures from regular local sources were $25,794,537, a million more than in 1936. For the first time in several years this sum also topped the amount of emergency funds expended in cities having regular recreation service, and it was the largest expenditure for recreation since 1932, though local budgets on the whole were still below predepression levels.

Emergency expenditures in cities having also regular recreation service fell off ten millions in 1937 to $22,139,243, a 31 per cent drop. Even with this decline, however, the federal government was still putting more money into local leadership than were the cities themselves.

For 1935, 1936, and 1937 municipal and county sources recorded 82, 86, and 81 per cent respectively of the funds for municipal recreation. Fees and charges brought in respectively 14, 10, and 15 per cent. Private funds came to 4, 4, and 4 per cent.

Striking changes occurred in the sources of funds for park departments from 1930 to 1935. From 1926 to 1930, 148 cities voted bond issues for parks totalling $153,261,621. In 1930, 28 per cent of park receipts came from that source. In 1931-1935, however, seventy-eight cities voted $18,193,940 of bonds for park purposes. In the latter year only 2 per cent of park income was yielded by bond issues. In 1930, in 524 cities, 39 per cent of the total park funds came from appropriations, while five years later, 717 cities reported that 68 per cent of their funds came from that source.

Golf courses, swimming pools, bathing beaches, boat houses, and camping centers are the facilities for which recreation and park departments usually make charges. In 1935 only boat houses yielded a net profit. Income and costs

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[5]By the National Recreation Association.

City Planning Personnel—
A Critical Analysis

ARTHUR L. SHEPARD
University of Michigan

A recent survey discloses that city planning is finding a recognized place in government, but despite the fact that its goals are fairly well defined, qualifications and duties of technical personnel are disorganized and lacking in uniformity.

PUBLIC personnel agencies apparently have not yet recognized the permanence and growing importance of city planning as a municipal function. Certainly it is time to make some effort to reach a uniform system of classification for the technical employees of the many city plan commissions and departments throughout the United States.

The first city planning commission was created in Hartford in 1907. In 1931 Professor Karl Lohmann, of the University of Illinois, estimated the number as "some seven hundred or more." The National Resources Committee, in its report on *The Status of City and County Planning in the United States,* placed the number of city planning boards at 1,073 for 1937, with an additional 128 city zoning boards. Although few cities employ regular staffs, this remarkable growth in number of active agencies indicates the increasing importance of the planning field. Of course, many towns receive the aid of the more than five hundred county planning and zoning boards, state planning commissions, regional and special agencies, and federal divisions such as the FHA. Others have hired consultants to make necessary surveys and prepare plans. However, the same general duties are performed and the same qualifications are necessary for employees of consultants and the technical divisions of cooperating agencies as are needed to guarantee high grade work by the staff of the city planning board.

A recent survey of planning personnel, conducted by the author and sponsored by the University of Michigan and the American Society of Planning Officials, has discovered little or no uniformity in qualifications, duties, titles, and salaries of personnel in active planning agencies in thirty-seven cities, seventeen counties, twenty-three states, and several other organizations and divisions of government. Information received, however, has supported the belief that planning will continue to fill an important place in American government, and that planning agencies are anxious to develop their personnel toward greater efficiency under scientific civil service principles.

Each planning board, each educational institution, up to this time, has held its own—usually a unique—opinion as to what should constitute planning, and as to what techniques are necessary. One of the most widely accepted definitions states that city planning is the effort to control, to guide, and to accomplish the physical development of towns and cities and thereby to provide for the people who are living and working in them the best possible environment. Many people, apparently, have arbitrarily assumed that a planning board may accomplish the ends, as stated in this definition, through individuals with four general functions and types of qualifications. First, there have been, and should continue to be, the board members, who must be persons with social and public interest, and in whom rests the duty of determining policy.

Second, the staff administrators, who direct the work of the office in accordance with the policies determined by the board, have been, in many instances, "administrators" in the strictest sense, with little or no training or practical experience in planning activity. Since planning does not follow principles of general business, however, the pure "administrator" is not enough—he must be a man with broad insight into planning problems and their solutions, as well as a man who possesses the ability to direct subordinates. Third, research personnel have frequently been chosen at random, with little attention given to training or experience. These men, to be effective, must necessarily have a highly developed research technique and training which would enable them to appreciate the aims and methods of planning. Fourth, draftsmen and designers have been recruited from the ranks of art school graduates and college graduates—and the unemployed—without requiring special knowledge of planning techniques.

MORE SPECIFIC TRAINING NEEDED

Few cities have recognized the fact that city planning is a specialized field; few colleges or universities offer any courses which train specifically for this field. The best preparation which a man can make to fit himself for proficiency in planning, at present, is a balanced college or university program including civil engineering, geography, architecture, landscape architecture, sociology, economics, political science, and, where possible, law. Optional education in architecture, landscape architecture, or civil engineering is insufficient to properly fit a man for a position as planner, whether he seeks a place in administration, on the research staff, or as a draftsman-designer. A specialized education in planning, or a program carefully and thoroughly correlated under a capable director in a recognized institution, should be a necessary prerequisite for positions in the specific field of planning.

The total number of employees of city planning commissions varies from thirty-one regular, with an additional 150 to 250 WPA workers, in one eastern city with a population of less than 700,000, down to one in the less active cities of the country. These thirty-one employees of the eastern city are each known by different titles—few of which indicate the actual duties performed by each man.

A recommended uniform system of titles, with varying salaries, training, experience, and duties, has been established as a result of the recent survey.

The director of a city planning department should be called a *city planner*—not an engineer, or any of a dozen other titles in use today. His duties are of a technical nature and require technical training and experience. He should be a man with proven ability, either in a responsible administrative position as *associate* or *junior city planner, director of city plan research,* or *city planning assistant* (of some type). He should have held one of these positions for a number of years, or, if he has the advantage of an advanced degree in planning from some recognized institution, less administrative experience in the field would be necessary. His salary should reflect his ability.

In very large communities, an *associate city planner,* and possibly also a *junior city planner,* may be necessary to assist in the administrative duties of the commission or department. Such men cannot be expected to have attained as much ability as the *city planner* himself, since their duties are less complex and their positions less responsible.

Salaries should correspond with abilities; and abilities and duties should determine titles. Thus, in a large city, we may find a *city planner,* with a salary

of $7,000, who has had at least five years of practical experience in planning; there may also be an *associate city planner,* with a salary of $5,000, who has had, perhaps, only three years experience, and a *junior city planner,* with a salary of $2,400, who may be a recent college graduate with a major in planning.

In the medium-sized city, a man who possesses the training and experience necessary for an *associate city planner* in our larger city should be capable of holding the major city planning position. Let him be called an *associate city planner,* however, and let him be paid in accordance with the standard salary range and the duties, training, and experience implied.

STAFF FOR SMALL CITIES

In the small city, all administrative planning work may be accomplished by a *junior city planner*—a recent college graduate who has specialized in planning. Likewise, let him be called a *junior city planner,* and perform duties and receive a salary in accordance with the standard for that position. In both the small and medium-sized cities, however, the assistance of a broadly experienced city planning consultant may be necessary to supplement the staff work of the administrative employee on technical matters.

In most communities the administrative head should be able to supervise and direct research projects. In larger towns, however, it may be advisable to add to the staff a *director of city plan research,* who should have had extensive training and experience, particularly in matters of investigation of city planning problems. He should certainly be a university graduate, preferably one who has done graduate work, including worth while technical research in planning or some directly associated field. His experience should include some time in actual planning work, possibly as some type of *city planning assistant.*

In most towns it would be necessary to employ research technicians in various phases of planning activity. Such an employee should be known as a *city planning assistant* (*land use*), *city planning assistant* (*recreation*), etc. Subjects may be inserted to indicate the specific duties of each assistant, and training and experience should be determined in accordance with each subject. For instance, a *city planning assistant* (*land use*) should be trained particularly in geography and civil engineering; a *city planning assistant* (*recreation*) should be trained in landscape architecture and physical education. Proper training suggests itself for each of the title subjects—housing, traffic and transportation, etc. All of these positions should require a basic knowledge and understanding of the goals and methods of city planning; all should require ability to conduct research and to organize data. Further distinction of position, training, and experience may be made with the use of prefixes—*senior,* (no prefix for middle rank), and *junior.* Salaries should be established, of course, in accordance with the amount of training and experience required for the standard in each degree of position.

City planning commissions in all cities, large and small, need designing and drafting. If the design is not produced by a special consultant, and if the drafting is not solely a duty of the *associate* or *junior city planner,* a *city planning draftsman-designer* is an essential member of the staff. Prefixes—*senior,* (no prefix for middle rank), and *junior* —may be used to denote rank and proficiency. The employee holding this title should be a graduate of a recognized college or university, specialized in city plan design or in architectural and landscape design, but with basic training in city planning. Experience should not be a requirement for the junior rank, but should be a definite prerequisite for the more advanced degrees.

Larger communities will find need for additional draftsmen, who need not be able to produce city plan design, but who should be proficient draftsmen, should have an understanding of the principles of design and city planning, and should be able to portray data in graphic and pictorial form. The *city planning draftsman* should be a graduate of a recognized college or art school, with training in architectural drafting particularly. Here, again, prefixes may be used to denote proficiency, experience, and rank.

Although appointments in many cities have been made solely as political rewards, the few examinations which have been given have been, for the most part, very poor. They have shown little relation to the training and experience required, and have shown even less to the specific duties to be performed. Examinations should certainly be based upon the problems to be encountered in the position. Prerequisite experience, training, and personal qualifications should be such as to insure, in so far as possible, that the individual possessing them may reach a logical approach to, and solution of, those problems.

Finally, the survey discovered a wide variation in the relationship of the planning commission to other agencies, and in the relationship of the commission to its staff. Unfortunately, no major recommendations on these matters are set forth in the report of the survey. One can only say that careful consideration should be given to the relationship which should exist between the planning staff and other city departments—for instance, public works. Often the city planning department requests information from another department of the city government, when that department may not be the one best qualified to supply such information. Other departments of local government often request information from the city planning department, although that department is not in a position to produce such data.

Although hindered by many of the rules and regulations of the WPA, city planning commissions—and many city departments—should make a special effort to provide more satisfactory supervision for WPA survey projects. The greatest possible value apparently is not obtained with present careless and untrained supervision in many localities. The WPA can be of untold value to planning throughout the country, but adequate supervision is essential.

And, in all cases, the members of the commission and the staff employees must remember that the duty of the commission is to determine policy, and the duty of the staff to carry out that policy and produce a *plan*.

JOHN RANDOLPH HAYNES AND HIS WORK FOR DIRECT GOVERNMENT

(Continued from Page 440)

With a staff supplanting the individual free-lancing of the founder, the direct government movement has evolved into the third and present stage of its development. However interesting may be the mechanics by which the ideas of direct government are to be perpetuated in this state, the dominant note that will continue will be the remembrance of the personality of the leader who headed the program for so long. The processes that John Randolph Haynes guided to development are now established institutions of political life.

Arkansas Tries the Merit System

Year's trial in first southern state to accept an improved civil service plan shows significant accomplishments and more efficient state administration.

By ESTAL E. SPARLIN
University of Arkansas

THE south's first-born state civil service baby completed its first year in Arkansas July 1st. The director's annual report to the commission easily convinces the careful reader that Dixie's first experiment with the merit system in state personnel work has had a healthy first year, learned to vocalize for itself, met its critics four-square, and gone a long way toward establishing a permanent place in the sun for itself.

Due largely to the efforts of Governor Carl Bailey, the 1937 session of the General Assembly passed a law creating the Arkansas Civil Service Commission, the first of its kind south of the Mason and Dixon line. This commission, appointed by the governor, is semi-independent and not vulnerable to political maneuvering. It appoints a state personnel director who carries on the administrative work, subject only to policy-determination by the commission. In many respects the law is an excellent one.

The commission's first important act was to appoint Dr. Kenneth O. Warner as state personnel director. No little amount of the success of Arkansas' merit system during its first year can be traced directly to the untiring efforts of Dr. Warner. A few obnoxious politicians, attempting to abolish the system in the spring of 1938, were unanimous in their praise for the director, despite their plain contrariness in citing every frivolous detail that came to their attention in an effort to discredit the law. It is to be regretted that Dr. Warner has found it necessary to resign after a year of service.

As the director's annual report states, the attack on Arkansas' personnel problems was carried on during the year along a three-fold front, all having the common objective—a workable and effective civil service.

First, it was the task of the Civil Service Commission to lay down general policies having as their primary purposes the setting up of sound working procedures, systematic records, and the establishment of a going organization. Practically no accounting of personnel performance and efficiency had been required and made before July 1, 1937. There was lacking a uniform method of controlling hours and conditions of work, leaves, vacations, methods of selecting applicants on a basis of prospective performance, records of service, and all of the other numerous but important functions carried on by a personnel agency.

Second, in order to better lay out a program the division had to make a personnel audit. The immediate objectives of the attack on this front were to discover what employees were doing and how the various positions were similar and how they differed. This audit or inventory was essential to the foundation of the civil service structure.

Third, the division was obliged to make available a reservoir of qualified personnel sufficient to meet department demands both for newly created positions and for necessary replacements.

During the first half of the fiscal year, considerable time and attention was devoted to a recruiting program through competitive examinations. Although the civil service law provided that incumbent employees would be "blanketed-in" without examination,

the fact that appropriations for additional employees in a number of state agencies became effective on the same day as did the civil service law caused a number of vacancies subject to civil service appointment to come into being on the first day of the personnel division's existence—a burden which was substantially increased by the decision of the governor and commissioner of public welfare to subject all state and county welfare positions to civil service appointment.

Although the civil service law did not become effective until July 1, 1937, and the civil service rules were not adopted until July 8, 1937, examinations for nine classes of positions, including both clerical and social service grades, were held at principal points throughout the state on July 28th and 29th. During the time intervening between July 9th and July 27th, examinations were announced, application forms issued to all who requested them, the four thousand applications reviewed for conformance with minimum requirements, the applicants notified and instructed in their duties, and the nine different sets of tests designed, mimeographed, and distributed.

The tremendous speed generated during the first three weeks was slackened very little throughout the year. At the end of the first fiscal year the personnel division had received 11,583 applications from 9,111 examinees. On the basis of this examining program, eligible lists were prepared containing 4,331 names for fifty different classes of positions.

From these eligible lists, 310 persons were appointed to thirty-seven classes of positions in twenty-six different state departments.

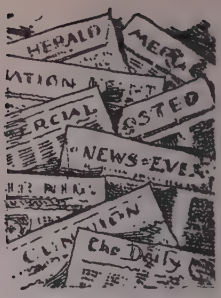
The attention of the personnel division was not devoted entirely to the examining program. Under authority of the law, the civil service rules permit any appointing authority, for disciplinary or any other just cause, to suspend a subordinate for a reasonable period not exceeding thirty days without pay. During the fiscal year this authority was exercised in about twenty different instances, and seems to offer a type of disciplinary measure that gets results but affords a measure of relief from the harshness of outright firing.

During the year, the commission also laid the foundation for in-service training of state employees. Several hundred hospital attendants in two state units held weekly meetings with a staff of instructors in a systematic training course designed to familiarize them with their duties and to improve their general effectiveness. As the year came to an end, plans were being laid for other in-service training courses for the various departments. Most progress has been made in outlining the program for employees in the State Highway Department.

The outlook for the future of the merit system in Arkansas is not entirely free of discouraging elements. An attempt was made at the 1938 special session of the legislature to eliminate the appropriation for the commission. Meager appropriations, a consequently curtailed program, charges of political activity in the primary campaign, and personnel "blanketed-in" at the beginning, have all caused their difficulties. Their ugly heads are certain to pop up again in the coming session of the state legislature. The re-election of Governor Bailey, however, and merit system support by many leading citizens adds an encouraging note to the possibilities for the future.

Arkansas' significant accomplishments in improved civil servants and more efficient state administration during the first year of civil service promises to lead the south toward a goal of better government.

Recent News Reviewed



NOTES AND EVENTS
Edited by H. M. Olmsted

New State Constitution for New York to be Submitted to Voters.[1]—On August 26th the New York State Constitutional Convention concluded its labors—begun on April 5th—and voted to submit its proposals to the voters of the state at the general election on November 8th.

The revised constitution will not be submitted as a whole but in nine separate sections. This was the result of great pressure brought upon the members of the convention, who were inclined, according to early reports, to submit the amended document in its entirety.

Following are the divisions into which the proposals will be divided.

1. All the proposed amendments not included in the following eight questions.

2. *Reapportionment.* Increase of the state senate from fifty-one to fifty-three members and the assembly from 150 to 159 members, apportioned on the basis of one assemblyman to each county and an additional assemblyman for each 36,000 votes cast in the 1936 election for governor. In this amendment the terms of senators are increased from two to four years.

3. *Grade Crossings.* Elimination of the present constitutional provision requiring railroads to pay 50 per cent of the cost of grade-crossing eliminations; provision that the state shall pay in the first instance but may recover from the railroad the entire cost of railroad improvements not essential to the elimination.

4. *Housing.* Permission for the state and its local governments to use their credit to finance low-cost housing and slum-clearance projects, but providing protection to real estate from further taxation by specifying that taxes to meet amortization charges must be included in legislation authorizing loans. Authorization of a $300,000,000 state bond issue for loans by the state for housing purposes and a 2 per cent addition to the existing debt limit of cities for housing purposes.

5. *Judiciary.* Creation of a new judicial district and judicial review of administrative acts.

6. *Labor.* Provision that labor of human beings is not a commodity; guarantee to labor of the right to organize and bargain collectively; fixing of an eight-hour day, five-day week, and prevailing wage rates on all public contracts.

7. *Proportional Representation.*[2] This system of election, used now in New York City, banned for all elections throughout the state.

8. *Social Welfare.* Establishment of a social welfare system for the state by permission to the legislature to set up health, unemployment, and old-age insurance and contribute state credit thereto.

9. *Transit.* Granting of permission to New York City to issue $315,000,000 in bonds in excess of its debt limit for the purpose of acquiring the transit systems of the local railway companies, opening the way for transit unification.

Among the more important proposals included in the first "catch-all" question are: limitation of the bill of rights in that the people are given guarantee against *unreasonable* interception of telephone and telegraphic communication; various changes and improvements in the state's financial set-up; permissive use of permanent registration and personal signa-

[1] See also editorial, page 432.

[2] See also pages 431 and 466.

ture requirement for voting anywhere in the state; some extension of home rule for cities, counties, and villages; and new provisions on municipal finance, including encouragement to cities to go on a "pay-as-you-go" basis.

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Interstate Coöperation Commissions for Thirty-seven States.—With the passage and signing of a bill to establish an official commission on interstate coöperation for Louisiana, the Council of State Governments has announced that thirty-seven of the forty-eight states are now equipped with machinery for solving interstate problems.

Louisiana's passage of the bill in current regular session leaves Texas the only one of the southern states lacking a coöperation commission. California, the other state which set up machinery this year, did so by resolution in special legislative session, which must be repeated next year to insure permanence of the commission.

The eleven states now without this legal implement for attacking interstate problems are Arizona, Idaho, Nevada, Utah, and Washington in the west; Kansas, Missouri, North Dakota, and Texas in the middle west; and Delaware and Maine on the east coast. The thirty-seven agencies already set up have been established since 1935, when the Council of State Governments instituted the movement.

The commissions have furthered interstate compacts and reciprocal agreements on subjects ranging from flood and river control to highway regulation and fish conservation. In this they are using a device that dates back more than one hundred years, when interstate agreements functioned in boundary settlements.

Recent United States Supreme Court approval of the La Plata water compact between Colorado and New Mexico refocused attention on the interstate compact as a modern device for joint action by states to solve their common problems.

Cross-border problems of the two states most recently joining the interstate coöperation movement include shrimp fisheries regulation, cotton production and control, and oil production in Louisiana; motor vehicle regulation, oil production, and transient relief in California.

*

Council-Manager Developments.—Cambridge, Massachusetts, (population 113,643) is taking advantage of the statute recently passed by the legislature permitting cities to adopt the manager plan and proportional representation, and has appointed a committee headed by Dean James M. Landis of the Harvard Law School to promote the plan. The committee secured nearly 11,000 signatures to its petition requesting that a referendum be held in November, although only 5,080 were needed. In Northampton (24,381) in the same state a committee headed by retired high school principal Frederic E. Plummer has already secured the requisite number of signatures for a referendum. Other cities in Massachusetts considering the plan include Quincy (71,983) and Waltham (39,247), where petitions have been filed, Brockton (63,797), New Bedford (112,597), and Somerville (103,908). In the latter city President Leo B. Havican of the board of aldermen has announced that he will appoint a committee of eight representative citizens to study the plan.[1]

Schenectady, New York, (95,692) will vote November 8th on an amendment to its manager charter to include proportional representation for the election of the city council.

The Philadelphia Charter Commission, appointed by Governor Earle and the Pennsylvania legislature some fifteen months ago, has just made public its final report. The new charter which it proposes for Philadelphia includes the city manager plan of government with a council of eleven members elected from the city at large by proportional representation. It also provides for coördination of the city and county governments, creates ten administrative departments under which the work of various more or less independent boards and commission would be integrated, and a planning board. The new provisions for a department of finance are intended to rectify some of the financial abuses which have grown up within the city, including the use of mandamuses for the collection of money from the city, deficiency bills, and running deficits.

Houston, Texas, (292,352) will vote on October 3rd on twenty-nine amendments to its city charter! Included are the amendments which the charter commission, appointed by the city council, recently submitted after some months of study. These amendments provide

[1]For further information on Massachusetts cities see page 472.

for a somewhat modified manager plan of government. Other amendments, however, provide for the mayor and council plan (presented by a councilman) and the commission plan—which the city now has. Provision for the establishment of several new departments and commissions are also included, among them a department of finance and a city planning commission.

The movement to secure a manager charter for Providence, Rhode Island, (252,981) continues to gain momentum in that city. At a recent luncheon of the Charter League of Providence, the major provisions of the proposed charter on which it has been working for the past few years were made public. These provisions include a nine-man council elected at large by proportional representation and a manager as administrative head of the city's government. The charter also makes provision for adequate budget procedure, an independent audit, a central purchasing department, a city planning commission, and other much needed improvements. A citizens' committee of twenty-four was announced at the luncheon which was attended by more than a hundred representative business and professional leaders and officers and members of civic groups and women's clubs.

Vancouver, B. C., (246,593) is much interested in the manager plan. A petition signed by 5,900 voters, asking for a plebiscite on the question, has been submitted to the council. The plan set forth in the petition calls for an unpaid council of forty-eight members which would appoint a city manager for administration of the city's affairs. The council has made an unofficial counter-proposal—a "management committee" composed of the city comptroller, corporation counsel, and city engineer, which would be charged with administration and control of all civic departments.

Waterbury, Connecticut, (99,902) has opened a campaign for the adoption of the manager plan. Howard P. Jones, secretary of the National Municipal League, spoke at the first meeting. A new charter would have to be submitted to the 1939 general assembly, followed by a local referendum.

The borough council of Tarentum has voted to install the manager plan in that borough.

The county board of Los Angeles, California, adopted a resolution on August 3rd providing for the appointment of a chief administrative officer to supervise and control all departments except those of the sheriff, assessor, district attorney, and civil service, but with appointive power remaining in the board.[2]

The *Herald* of Albany, Georgia, reports that the Grady County, Georgia, Democratic executive committee has authorized a referendum in connection with the September 14th primary on the manager form of government for that county.

San Angelo, Texas, (25,308) on July 8th, by popular vote of about two to one, defeated a series of proposed charter amendments to replace manager government by a mayor and five ward councilmen.

Wheeling, West Virginia, (61,659) on July 28th defeated an attempt to change its city manager–proportional representation charter by the election of a new charter commission hostile to the present plan.[3]

Forsyth, Georgia, on July 14th, by a vote of 115 to 61, defeated a council-manager proposal.

According to the *Oklahoma City Oklahoman*, certain local groups are sponsoring a move to abandon the manager plan, but approximately 90 per cent of the labor group went on record as opposed to such a move.

The Minneapolis Charter Union is advocating a council-manager–P. R. charter and is asking the charter commission to submit such a charter to popular vote this fall.

A commission has been formed in Jackson, Michigan, (55,187) to undertake the drafting of a new charter.

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Montreal Metropolitan Commission.—The retirement of E. T. Sampson as secretary of the Montreal Metropolitan Commission makes it a fitting occasion not only to refer appreciatively to his work in that connection, but to refer to the excellent work which that administrative body, which was largely the conception of his own brain, has done since its establishment in 1921. Created to administer the finances of three bankrupt towns and to supervise the finances of twelve other municipalities adjacent to the city of Montreal, the commission has been remarkably successful, both in bettering the financial position of the delinquents and in maintaining the credit of all the municipalities under its control

[2]See also page 461.
[3]See also page 470.

throughout the period of depression. The success of the Montreal commission has been due in large measure to the fine coöperative spirit of the delegates of its member municipalities, who, realizing that Mr. Sampson was handling a delicate job in a masterful manner, got right behind him. It was a case of a representative body having the fullest confidence in its principal officer and winning out.

What is of special interest regarding the Montreal Metropolitan Commission is that it is a new departure in metropolitan administration. In fact, with the exception of the Massachusetts Metropolitan Commission, it is the first experience in regional government on this continent. There are differences, it is true, in the setup of the two commissions, the principal one of which is that the Massachusetts body is appointed by the state and its capital expenditures are provided from government funds, whereas the Montreal body is composed of delegates appointed by its member municipalities, with an additional member appointed by the provincial government, and its securities are guaranteed by the total assessment values of the metropolitan district. As both bodies are providing a splendid public service to the community it is not necessary in this connection to suggest which is the best system.

During the whole of the period he served the Montreal Metropolitan Commission so efficiently, Mr. Sampson also carried on his duties as city clerk and treasurer of the city of Outremont—a position he has held for twenty-seven years, and which he still holds—his own council as a mark of appreciation raising his salary. Such appreciation will find an echo from his many friends in the United States as well as in Canada.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF

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Municipal Government Survey Makes Progress.— The Municipal Government Subproject of the Federal Writers' Project (Works Progress Administration), which began in 1936 to collect full sets of the laws, rules, and regulations governing various cities throughout the country, has now received complete reports and documents from approximately 75 per cent of the 192 cities involved. In addition, partial reports have been received from all except twelve cities. Lack of reports from these is due mainly to the inability of state administrators to assign persons from the writers' project to collect and forward the material, according to Dr. Henry G. Alsberg, director of the project.

All the reports are being filed for ready reference at the Bureau of the Census under the direction of Mrs. Louise H. Clickner of the Municipal Reference Service, of which Oliver C. Short, assistant to the director of the census, has charge.

Originally the Municipal Government Subproject was proposed by the United States Conference of Mayors on a much more ambitious scale, it having been the intention not only to collect but also to analyze the documents received from the cities. The present project, however, has confined itself to the collection and forwarding of the documents.

*

North Carolina Municipal Government Study.—A state-wide WPA project for a survey of municipal government in North Carolina has been inaugurated, according to a report to Washington, D. C., headquarters of the Works Progress Administration by George W. Coan, Jr., WPA administrator for that state. Designed to provide employment for 130 needy unemployed, white-collar workers for a period of one year, Mr. Coan stated that the survey would be one of the most comprehensive studies of municipal government ever attempted anywhere. The survey will make a complete and detailed study of all phases of the government of every incorporated municipality in North Carolina. The results of the various studies will be placed in permanent files in the office of the North Carolina League of Municipalities at Raleigh. The all-inclusive compilation will be available to all cities and towns through their League of Municipalities.

Through Mayor Ben E. Douglas of Charlotte, president of the North Carolina League of Municipalities, arrangements were made for the league to furnish the administrative sponsorship of the project, although technically the survey is sponsored by the North Carolina Local Government Commission, of which Charles M. Johnson, state treasurer, is chairman.

Patrick Healey, Jr., executive secretary of the league, pointed out that the survey attracted great attention and interest in Washington where it was forwarded for the approval of President Roosevelt, whose approba-

tion it secured, and that in addition to the permanent file record, a group of nationally known authorities under the direction of the league will analyze, digest, and chart the information secured by the survey and, from the data obtained, prepare a comprehensive reference work that will serve as a guide book to municipal officials as to duties, responsibilities, methods, forms of government, and most of the other problems that daily confront them. They will also prepare, Mr. Healey said, a college text book and a high school text book based upon actual municipal government as practiced, in addition to many special publications and pamphlets of specific problems and phases of municipal government.

The survey will involve an outlay of more than $165,000 of which WPA is furnishing $118,000. Mr. Johnson said the Local Government Commission recognized the great need for and the tremendous importance of the survey; that it and most of the state departments, the University of North Carolina, and many other organizations are coöperating with the North Carolina League of Municipalities on the project.

*

Teaneck Police Hold Pistol Tournament.—According to information from Township Manager Paul A. Volcker of Teaneck, New Jersey, the police department of that township, with the coöperation of the township government and the *New York Daily Mirror,* conducted in August their seventh annual international police pistol tournament, an event which was started modestly by the police themselves and has grown to the extent of attracting more than one hundred pistol teams from all over the east.

*

Merit System for Postmasters Advances.—According to the Civil Service Assembly, a modified merit system for approximately 14,000 first-, second-, and third-class postmasters was established by legislative enactment when President Roosevelt signed the Ramspeck Bill (H.R. 1531) placing these postmasters within the competitive classified civil service while at the same time retaining Senate confirmation of their appointments. Hereafter, appointments of first-, second-, and third-class postmasters will be made by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for indefinite terms, from among the three highest names certified by the United States Civil Service Commission. One year's prior residence is required.

Present postmasters may continue in their positions until the end of their present terms. They do not automatically acquire a classified civil service status at the expiration of their terms. Such status is given them only if they are reappointed following the successful passage of a non-competitive examination to be administered by the commission. Unless new appointments are made of thus noncompetitively qualifying present incumbents, they will be made by promotions within the postal service or by open competitive examinations as provided in the civil service act and rules.

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Governmental Efficiency Appraisers.—A course of eighteen months' duration, to train graduates in appraising the efficiency of city and county governments, will be instituted this month at the University of Denver under a grant of $29,000, for the first year, by the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation of New York. The degree of master of science in government management will be awarded to those completing the course satisfactorily, and they will be expected to qualify as research assistants to citizen groups interested in lessening waste in local government and improving public welfare administration. Ten fellowships, ranging from $900 to $1,800, have been provided.

*

Housing Authorities.—The number of county, municipal, or metropolitan housing authorities operating in the United States and its possessions was recently reported by the National Association of Housing Officials to be 171. Of the thirty-three states which have passed laws permitting local governments to establish housing authorities, twenty-nine have set up agencies for the development of low-rent housing projects. In all of the thirty-three states except Illinois and Montana local governments are permitted to grant subsidies in the form of tax exemptions or direct grants to housing organizations. Massachusetts recently amended its state law to permit municipal subsidies, thus enabling its housing authorities to comply with the financial requirements of the United States housing act, the law governing the national public housing program.

Coördination of Citizen Groups in Pittsburgh.—Under the leadership of the Pennsylvania Economy League and the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce a Council of Organizations has been formed in Pittsburgh to coordinate the activities of the various civic organizations and other citizen groups, and to foster coöperation between such groups and the municipal government. It has been found that a multiplicity of organizations, each with its own viewpoint, has heretofore made for confusion and ineffectiveness. Dr. James H. Greene, secretary-treasurer of the council, describes its formation, objectives, and activities in the July-August issue of *Your Dollar's Worth*, published by the Pennsylvania Economy League. He states, "the council was conceived as a clearing house through which all organizations would have an opportunity to adjust their differences before submitting recommendations to municipal officials and reap the greater benefit of being able to present a united front in support of such recommendations."

The council, since its organization in March of this year, has given particular attention to three matters: the bond issue involved in Mayor Scully's proposed construction program for Pittsburgh, to be financed from city and PWA funds; the proposals for more adequate recreation facilities for the city; and the planning of a by-pass highway.

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International City Managers' Association's Silver Anniversary Conference.—More than 150 city managers from approximately twenty-five states, and an equal number of other municipal officials, are expected in Boston, September 26th to 29th, for the silver anniversary conference of the International City Managers' Association. The conference attendance will include city finance officers, clerks, mayors, and councilmen in addition to the managers.

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National Recreation Congress.—The National Recreation Association will hold its national recreation congress in Pittsburgh, October 3rd to 7th, thus providing an occasion for professional and volunteer recreation leaders to benefit from the exchange of ideas looking toward a united recreation movement.

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Newspaper Guild Commends League's Models for Basic Laws.—At the convention of the American Newspaper Guild, organization of newspaper workers, in June, the following recommendation of the legislation committee was adopted:

"We recommend to local guilds the study of the model state constitution and model city charter proposed by the National Municipal League, including its provision for proportional representation in state and local governments. We believe that local guilds should consider the possible application of the League's recommendations to their own communities, as a definite and concrete means of breaking up corrupt political machines in league with the employers against labor."

*

New Home for North Carolina Institute of Government.—Contracts were signed on August 2nd for a four-story colonial structure facing the campus of the University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill, to be the permanent home of the Institute of Government of that state. It will contain twenty rooms, including offices, assembly and exhibit rooms, and training school and club rooms, for public officials. It will also house the institute's collection of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, maps, charts, magazines, etc., which comprise a clearing house of information; and will be headquarters for the training courses that the institute offers for many groups of public officials.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP GOVERNMENT

Edited by Paul W. Wager

Los Angeles County Adopts Modified Manager Plan.—On August 3, 1938, the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors took action on what is generally conceded to be the most significant development in its organizational structure since the county charter was adopted in 1913. On that date the board made provision for the employment of a chief administrative officer under whom the responsibility for the operations of the county government will be placed.

The job of administering the affairs of Los Angeles County is no small task. There are more than fifty departments, and between 15,000 and 16,000 employees in the county organization. The annual budget approaches

$80,000,000. The county government serves approximately 2,600,000 persons living within an area of 4,083 square miles.

Briefly summarized, the duties of the chief administrative officer consist of the following:

1. To exercise administrative supervision and control over all departments, services, institutions, and districts of the county, to coördinate their operations and to administer, enforce, and carry out the policies, rules, regulations, and ordinances of the board relating to the administration of county affairs;
2. To analyze and make recommendations in connection with departmental budgets;
3. To supervise all expenditures and purchases of the county government;
4. To coördinate the administration of all county services by having the authority to transfer personnel, equipment, machinery, furnishings, and supplies between departments;
5. To approve all purchase orders of $1,000 or more and to approve all contracts for supplies, services, equipment, etc., before presentation to the board of supervisors;
6. To recommend to the board the creation or abolition of any positions in the county service.

The only county departments not placed entirely under the chief administrative officer are the sheriff, district attorney, and assessor, all of which are headed by elective officials, and the civil service commission, the members of which are appointed by the board of supervisors in accordance with existing provisions of the county charter. He is charged, however, with the duty of supervising and controlling the expenditures of these four departments.

The board of supervisors has appointed Colonel Wayne Allen, county purchasing agent, to the new position. He will take office on September 8, 1938. Colonel Allen has been purchasing agent for two years and is considered by all as a most desirable choice. While his experience before coming to the county has been in private and military fields, he has demonstrated his fitness to fill such an important position in public administration as the one just authorized.

It is the board's intent to retain Colonel Allen in his present capacity of purchasing agent, the salary of which is $6,600 per year. The amount of $3,400 has been added to his compensation in view of his additional duties, thus making a total annual salary of $10,000.

While the matter of placing the newly created position and the administrative set-up under which its occupant is to operate in the county charter was given consideration, the county board decided to operate for at least one year before seeking the approval of the voters. In this way, it was believed that experience could be obtained which would be valuable in drafting a permanent set-up more closely allied to the council-manager form of government.

H. F. Scoville, *Director*
Los Angeles County Department
of Budget and Research

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Georgia County to Hold Referendum on Manager Plan.—According to the Albany, Georgia, *Herald,* the Democratic executive committee of Grady County, Georgia, has authorized a referendum at the polls on September 14th giving the voters of the county an opportunity "to decide whether they wish to retain the present system of county government or whether they wish to inaugurate the county manager system."

"Already Grady countians," continues the *Herald,* "have departed from the conventional form of county government in Georgia by having the chairman of the county commission a full-time official with powers broader than is customary. That system has been in effect since June 1st and since it is, in essence, a modified form of county managership, a vote favorable to the county manager plan in the September referendum will call for another step along a path already partly explored."

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Executive Secretary Chosen for Chesterfield County, Virginia.—The recent session of the general assembly of Virginia empowered the board of Chesterfield County to appoint by resolution an executive secretary to be accountable to it and to work under its direction. His general duties are to record all proceedings of the board, to make entries of all the board's resolutions and decisions on all questions concerning the raising of money, to sign all warrants issued by the board for the payment of money, to preserve and file all accounts and papers acted upon by the board with its action thereon, to make recommendations to the board concerning any office or department of the county government, to attend to the execution and enforcement of all lawful resolutions and orders of the board

and to see that all laws of the state required to be enforced through the board are faithfully executed, to make monthly reports to the board in regard to matters of administration and keep the board advised as to the financial condition of the county, to prepare a proposed annual budget, to audit all claims against the county except those required to be audited by the county school board, and to act as purchasing agent for the county.

The board has recently appointed Mr. William S. Coburn, who has been resident engineer for Chesterfield County for the State Highway Department, to the new position. It is intended that the duties of the new executive secretary will relieve the board of supervisors of the greater portion of the burdensome work it hereto has performed, thus enabling the board to act as a policy-forming body.

*

New Commission on County Government in Virginia.—Announcement has been made of the appointment by the governor of three new members and the reappointment of an old member to complete the roster of the Virginia Commission on County Government. The fifth member is a holdover from the old commission. It looked for a time as though the Virginia commission would be allowed to lapse but it now appears that it will be continued. This is encouraging because the commission has been instrumental in getting several constructive improvements in county government initiated in that state.

Virginia Municipal Review

Town-Country Relations Discussed in Iowa.—The fourth annual Country Life Institute was held at Iowa State College June 20-21-22. The Country Life Institute was founded so that farmers and farmers' wives, public school teachers, college teachers, extension workers, editors, ministers, social workers and organization leaders, and, also, local government officials might gather together under nationally renowned leadership for the discussion of problems vital to the people of Iowa and the mid-west. The general theme of the Country Life Institute this year was town-country relationships. The institute was under the leadership of Dr. E. C. Lindeman, professor of philosophy, New York School of Social Work. The forenoons were devoted to general lectures by nationally prominent leaders in the fields of social work, education, church work, public health, and local government. The afternoons were given over to sectional conferences in these respective fields, each tying in the problems in the particular fields on a town-country relationship basis. In each conference laymen with a community interest presented their experiences and reactions to programs being conducted in the respective fields as well as community leaders in those fields.

Of course, it was obvious that any discussion in these fields on town-country relations should sooner or later bring in government angles. But it was more particularly the conference on town-country relationships in local government, which was a feature of the institute for the first time this year, that gave primary consideration to such problems as the rural municipality, the administrative organization of county and township government, rural functional services, county consolidation, and abolition of the township.

Dr. Arthur W. Bromage not only added greatly to the inspirational leadership of the institute by delivering one of the main addresses of the mornings on "Town-Country Relationships in Local Government," but it was under his able guidance at the afternoon conferences for each of the three days that legislators, local government officials, students, taxpayers, and interested citizens presented their own experiences and problems in county, township, and school corporation government. And it was in this respect of interested citizen and local public official discussion and attempt at correlation and integration of community experiments and programs in education, public health, recreation, rural electrification, and other fields for the development of a more articulate governmental relationship of rural and town people of Iowa, that these civic-minded people did valuable and constructive thinking. Though the adoption of resolutions was not sought, conclusions were indicated at each of the conferences as to the part to be played, if any, by local government jurisdictions and the functions or services that might be developed for a more closely cemented community interest. In some instances the county, in many the school corporation, and in a few instances the township, was given as an example of a community with a "social watershed draining into one town."

Attendance at these sectional conferences may not only have resulted in a better understanding by the local public official of his governmental obligations, brought about a feeling of common interest of town and country people, but also, it must have brought enrichment to democratic institutions in Iowa in general.

H. C. Cook

Iowa State College

TAXATION AND FINANCE
Edited by Wade S. Smith

Arizona to Vote on Homestead Exemption.—Arizona voters will pass this fall on an initiative measure to amend the state constitution so as to exempt from all taxation up to $5,000 market value of real property used as a bona fide home and the "necessary furnishings therein."

The text of the amendment, which would add a new section to article IX of the state constitution, provides that eligible property owners would file an affidavit with the city and county assessors to claim the exemption. Special benefit assessments would not be included in the exemption, and the text of the amendment makes no mention as to whether taxes to pay interest and principal on previously outstanding debt would be excepted. Courts in other states have generally held that service on debt outstanding at the time of such a measure's enactment is still payable from taxes on the exempted property.

*

Seattle Faces Another Crisis.—Seattle, Washington, where over-all tax rate limitation has been conspicuously successful in reducing general property taxes, finds its head once more in the noose. A raid on city employees' pension funds and the hiking of water rates to milk that utility for a general fund contribution are all that stand between the city's need for $1,450,000 for payrolls for the balance of the year and payless paydays for city employees.

The basic cause of the city's difficulties has been noted in these columns before. The crux of the trouble is a forty-mill over-all tax rate limit, of which the city gets fifteen mills, with additional taxes possible to meet principal and interest on bonds outstanding prior to December 1934. The city's fifteen mills for operations, together with the money squeezed out of business and taxpayers in the guise of various special licenses and charges, just won't suffice to do a half-way decent job of municipal administration—and since the good Seattle burgers haven't yet seen fit to give up fire and police protection and settle down to backwoods government sans all the urban fixings, the result has been a steady succession of operating deficits. At the beginning of the present year the city's general operating fund cash deficit was approximately six million dollars, with assets on the other side of the ledger in the form of delinquent taxes and other receivables equal to only about half that amount.

The 1938 city budget followed its predecessors in achieving a paper balance by inflating miscellaneous revenue anticipations. Now, with revenue realizations at the mid-year mark well below the budget figures, and a new mayor who has pledged himself to a "realistic" approach to the city's problems, the various banking institutions have seen fit to deny any further temporary credit to the general fund. The "out" proposed to the council is to have the employees' pension fund put up some $1,200,000 invested securities which it owns as collateral for a bank loan to the general fund, and for the water department to ante-up with another $250,000 or so. At last reports the officers of the pension fund were beginning to kick like steers at the proposal, but since the alternative is no funds to cash employees' salary warrants, the city workers will probably get stuck. That the sticking will be actual rather than theoretical is evident from the fact that the general fund is actually insolvent—has liabilities greater than its assets—as mentioned above. Citizens and officials alike have been playing a waiting game for the last few years, aware that a bad moment was coming for the general fund, but hoping that the state could be persuaded to step in and distribute largess. Now the bad moment has arrived, and the picnic seems to be all Seattle's.

Ironically, rival factions in the state have been battling it out during the summer getting sufficient petitions to put onto the fall ballot two new forty-mill tax limit initiative measures. One is substantially the present law, but permits the legislature to reallocate the two mills for state school purposes to

the cities, and the other would permit city levies up to eighteen mills instead of the present fifteen mills. Reports have the first proposal assured of a place on the ballot, but the fate of the second doubtful. Seattle is beyond a place where an added two mills can save the situation.

*

Pay Where?— The perplexing problems facing citizens of Muhlenberg Township, Pennsylvania, when they decide to pay up current and past due taxes are described at length in a recent issue of *Your Dollar's Worth,* the monthly publication of the Pennsylvania Economy League. The situation is so complicated that even the tax collectors, who try to ease the willing taxpayer along his way by informal reciprocal agreements, can't always keep it straight.

If you happen to be a Muhlenberg citizen residing in the borough of Laureldale, for instance, you may pay your current and delinquent taxes to as many as five different tax collectors, in as many as nine different combinations. The borough collector will accept current borough, school, and county taxes. He will also accept delinquent and unliened borough taxes, and delinquent liened and unliened county taxes. The Muhlenberg township school district delinquent tax collector will take delinquent unliened school taxes, but liened delinquent school taxes are payable only to the school district solicitor in Reading. Delinquent and liened borough taxes will also be accepted by the borough solicitor in Reading. And just to mix things up for good, the county delinquent tax receiver will accept both liened and unliened delinquent county taxes. Several of the tax collectors accept payments for the other offices, and then burn the midnight oil keeping the record of transfers straight.

*

M.F.O.A. Holds Successful Conclave in St. Paul.—Intensive work by those attending the conference is reported from those who covered the Municipal Finance Officers' Association's annual conference in St. Paul in mid-August. Work was largely technical, and reports seem to indicate that public bodies putting up the cash for the delegates' expenses (when they did) were making a pretty good investment. Complete reports on the conference have not come through at this writing, but will be summarized next month.

*

Financial Statistics of Cities, 1936.[1]— That the Census Bureau is revising its statistics on local government to keep abreast of present-day requirements is apparent from an examination of its recently published volume for 1936. Public officials and others interested in having comparative municipal statistics will be agreeably surprised at the amount of information in the book, although since 1932 the report has been limited to the ninety-four cities over one hundred thousand.

Four additional tables are presented: value of municipal properties, method of financing capital outlays, debt obligations classified by rates of interest, and number of municipal employees. The first of these tables shows that nearly five billion dollars worth of land, buildings, and equipment are utilized in performing the ordinary functions of city government, and property of half that value for municipally-operated utilities. The second shows that of nearly $300,000,000 of general departmental outlays during the year, only one-half was from bond issues, the remainder being from grants and current funds, while in financing outlays for utilities two-thirds of the $144,000,000 was from bond issues. The third table shows that rates of interest run from 2 to 6 per cent, with an average of 4.2 per cent. The fourth table shows the distribution by the various services of 664,000 public servants.

To attain comparability among cities, the bureau reports the statistics of all overlapping units of government, the proportion of data for such units being determined by assessed valuation. Table two lists the independent divisions and reports for each the percentage of statistics included.

The data relating to receipts, expenditures, and debt have been recast to some extent to reflect present-day financial transactions of local governments. Among the new features relating to receipts, it is noted that tax collections are reported separately as between current and prior years' levies; grants-in-aid

[1]Prepared under the supervision of C. E. Rightor, Chief Statistician for Financial Statistics of States and Cities, Bureau of the Census. Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C. Price 70 cents.

are classified to show separately those from the federal government, amounting to over 25 per cent of all grants; and per capita receipts are reported in greater detail.

In reporting cost payments, increased attention has been given to "charities," which is such an important phase of public financing today. Data relating to charities, hospitals, and corrections are separated throughout the report; old-age assistance is set forth under charities, as are also mothers' and veterans' aid — formerly classified as miscellaneous. Under public service enterprises, transit and airports are included.

The classification of debt has been simplified, now being reported as funded or fixed, special assessment, and floating or unfunded debt. Introduction into public finance of revenue bonds, however, in connection with both general departments and public service enterprises, has required that the bureau recognize this type of security.

Tables relating to non-revenue receipts and non-governmental-cost payments are presented, but the detail is restricted to transactions affecting debt incurrence and repayment.

This brief review of the revisions being effected to modernize the bureau's reporting of statistics of cities is illustrative of the progress being made. Extensive recasting of a federal agency's compilation, without unduly impairing comparability of the series, must be a studied process. The National Municipal League, through its membership on the National Committee on Municipal Accounting, is coöperating with the bureau in this constructive work, and the director of the bureau has also set up a special advisory committee on the subject which passes on all revisions. With the continuation of these coöperative efforts, it may be expected that future reports will make available even more valuable statistics about our cities—possibly including all cities over thirty-thousand population—which are so greatly needed.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

New York Convention Seeks to Ban P. R.—Deserting their New York City colleagues and over-riding the decision of the committee on suffrage, a group of upstate Republican delegates to the New York State Constitutional Convention joined forces with New York City Democrats on the last morning of the session's regular deliberations, August 19th, and carried a proposal to prohibit the use of proportional representation for any purpose anywhere in the state. The action was taken through a surprise amendment to the main suffrage proposal and was offered by Louis M. Killeen, Republican delegate from Schenectady, where a P. R. amendment to the city charter is to be voted on this fall.

The amendment read:

"Every voter shall be entitled to vote at each and every election in this state or any of its subdivisions for as many persons as there may be offices to be filled thereat. No election for any offices to be filled by the people of the state or any of its subdivisions shall be conducted by any system of proportional representation."

P. R. was pictured by Mr. Killeen and Democratic orators as a complicated "un-American" system tending to blocs and confusion, against whose insidious wiles the people of all municipalities should be protected.

Mrs. Helen Z. M. Rodgers of Buffalo, Republican chairman of the committee on suffrage, made a spirited and able defense of her committee's bill against this unwelcome addition. She pointed out that proportional representation had been adopted by the people of the City of New York in 1936 on a separate referendum by an overwhelming majority, that they had the power to repeal it if they did not like it in practice, that neither Schenectady nor any other city could adopt P. R. unless its people voted to adopt it, and that a denial of the right of cities to choose the method of electing their own local officers was utterly at variance with the principles of self-government already affirmed by the convention. When the amendment had carried, she spoke and voted against the passage of her committee's measure, saying that this incubus more than balanced the good provisions which she and the committee had labored months to perfect.

Mrs. Rodgers was vigorously supported in her opposition by several prominent Republicans from New York City: former State Senator Joseph Clark Baldwin, chairman of the convention's housing committee, a member of New York City's P. R. council, and once the only Republican member in the New York

City board of sixty-five aldermen before the advent of P. R.; Supreme Court Justice Philip J. McCook, a member of the convention's suffrage committee; Abbot Low Moffat, chairman of the convention's finance committee and of the ways and means committee of the state assembly; and Harold Riegelman, chairman of the convention's committee on cities and counsel to the New York City Citizens Budget Commission. Their plea for protection of their minority representation in New York City and of the principle of home rule was supported by a number of upstate Republican votes, including that of Justice Charles B. Sears of Buffalo, chairman of the convention's judiciary committee and presiding justice of the fourth judicial department of the state supreme court, but approximately half of the Republicans present received it with deaf ears. Many of them had stood by their city colleagues a few days earlier on voting down a less dangerous attack on a detail of the New York City P. R. provisions when the suffrage measure was discussed on general orders, but now were incensed at them for helping to enact a permissive health insurance measure the night before. It was rumored also that some of them thought they could win Democratic votes at the polls for the Republican reapportionment by linking the two questions together.

Every Democrat present stood up for the amendment and it carried by 96 votes to 35.

Mr. Moffat then offered an amendment to except New York City from the prohibition. He was seconded by Justice James P. Hill of Binghamton, presiding justice of the third department, but the amendment was voted down 94 to 28.

Most of those who had opposed the prohibition then voted regretfully against the whole suffrage measure, which included such needed reforms as permissive permanent registration and a signature requirement for voting anywhere in the state; Martin Saxe, chairman of the convention's taxation committee, former Congressman William S. Bennet, and others rising to explain their negative votes. The measure carried 112 to 38.

Supreme Court Justice Charles Poletti of Manhattan, former counsel to Governor Lehman, chairman of the Governor's committee which prepared factual data for the convention's consideration and spokesman in the convention for the American Labor Party which helped to elect him, entered the chamber as the final roll call was being taken and subsequently rose to voice the only Democratic protest against the ban on P. R.

The convention's action was met with a chorus of civic and editorial protest and will be vigorously fought at the polls. Some of the first editorial reactions were the following:

New York Times, August 23rd:

"By what right, or by what impudence, do these delegates to a state convention dare to over-ride the will of the people of New York City in a matter which exclusively concerns the people of this community: namely, the method by which they choose to elect the members of their own municipal council? Proportional representation was adopted in this city by a majority of nearly two to one in an election held less than two years ago. Until it is amended or abandoned by these same voters there is no earthly justification for a state agency to interfere. There has been no public demand for a change in the present system. There has been only Tammany's private dissatisfaction with it, because it has helped effectively to break a Tammany stranglehold. That a large number of upstate Republicans should have consented to play Tammany's game in this matter, in a last-minute move so secret that knowledge of it is said to have been withheld even from the Republican leaders themselves, is a shocking thing. Let it not be forgotten that these are the same Republicans who orate about 'overcentralization of power' in Washington under Mr. Roosevelt. The record now reveals them as so little concerned, in reality, about 'overcentralization of power' that they are willing to deny the people of this city their fundamental right to elect their own councilmen by their own chosen means."

New York World-Telegram, August 20th:

"Proportional representation was adopted here in 1936 by a clear-cut vote of 923,186 to 555,217. On its first and only trial it served to cut down the Democratic machine and the relics of Tammany to the smallest strength returned in a generation—although by no means an unfair reduction. Already it has proved its right to the faith of a disinterested nonpartisan citizenship.

"Now the convention has voted that New

York City shan't have proportional representation. This prohibition obviously has no proper place in a state constitution. It is local legislation, a brazen political attempt by indirection to amend the charter without the city's consent, a product of the last-minute rush at which the members themselves must blush in after-thought.

"The proportional representation clause yesterday . . . lopped off a vital arm from the city charter, sought to turn back progress to the old machine channels. It is indefensible in both purpose and method, and deserves a crushing repudiation."

New York Herald-Tribune, August 22nd:

"In the fifty-seven amendments finally adopted for submission in the constitutional convention there are included many sound and useful proposals. . . . But the soberest and most dispassionate of critics cannot fail, we think, to feel that the sudden, barefaced, and absolutely indefensible deal with which it concluded its labors on Friday afternoon has thrown a blight over the entire undertaking from which it is going to be a serious matter now to rescue it. . . .

"This paper has never made a fetish of proportional representation; it has always felt that the system as installed in New York City was experimental and that experience might yet indicate the wisdom of its abolition. But for a constitutional convention to attempt to abolish it out of hand, in the interests of the discredited Tammany political machine and over the heads of the people of the city who voted for it, by slipping in at the last minute and without debate or public demand an amendment prohibiting the system, is so far from the proper function of a constituent body as to end even the pretense that it has acted in that character.

"It is impossible to understand how either the Republicans or the Democrats who shared in this business can hope to reflect anything but discredit upon their parties as well as upon the convention itself."

New York Post, August 20th:

"In a slick, oily, bipartisan 'surprise' maneuver the delegates everlastingly disgraced themselves by throwing New York City's hard-won proportional representation system into the ash-can. . . .

"The people of New York City adopted P. R. by a majority of more than 300,000. It has given minorities decent representation for the first time in the city's history. It has pulled the claws of Tammany.

"Nothing could demonstrate better how important P. R. is than this vicious bipartisan drive to kill it. . . .

"Tammany smells a way back. It won't get it—even if the entire constitution has to be ditched."

Brooklyn Daily Eagle, which opposed the adoption of P. R. in 1936, August 21st:

"The move to strike out proportional representation is a flagrant disregard of the right of the people of this city, who voted by a majority of 367,969 in 1936 to institute that system in the election of city councilmen.

"There are wide differences of opinion as to how successful this is proving in operation, but it should be the right of the citizens of Brooklyn and the other boroughs to decide whether to continue it or not after it has been given a fair trial."

New York Sun, which has always opposed P. R., August 20th:

"What is that agonizing cry which splits the summer day? Is it the last stridence of a million cicadas stung by a million digger wasps? No, it is the scream of a Proportional Representationer (Homo computator) who has heard the news from Albany. . . . There will be foam and sound and fury. Home rule will be pictured as outraged. . . . Something hotter than 93.4 degrees has got into the campaign at last."

The *New York World Telegram* took a poll of upstate dailies and reported that thirteen of the fifteen which replied regarded the P. R. ban as an unwarranted infringement on the rights of local voters to govern themselves. Among others the *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle,* the *Utica Daily Press,* the *Watertown Daily Times,* and the *Albany Knickerbocker News* carried editorials criticizing the convention's action adversely.

Mayor LaGuardia; Samuel Seabury; Newbold Morris, president of the New York City Council; Park Commissioner Robert Moses, an opponent of P. R.; Kenneth Simpson, Republican national committeeman; and State Senator Thomas C. Desmond were among those who issued strong statements of protest.

Governor Lehman sent to the president of the convention a public letter in regard to the manner of submitting the convention's work which read in part as follows:

"Many people, of whom I am one, feel that regardless of whether the principle of proportional representation has merit or not, the outright prohibition of proportional representation has no place in the constitution. Proportional representation was adopted in a referendum by the people of the City of New York by an overwhelming vote. It can be readily amended or repealed by the voters of the City of New York. Other communities should have the right to decide whether or not they wish to operate under proportional representation.

"If the convention decides not to reconsider its action prohibiting proportional representation—and it still has the opportunity to do so—it should certainly submit the question to the people for their consideration as a separate proposal."

By the time the convention came together again on August 25th to decide the method of submitting its work, many of the Republicans and some of the Democrats had thought better of their hasty action, and it seems fairly certain that but for the convention's resolution of the week before that it would not consider the substance of any proposed constitutional amendment after 6 P. M. August 19th, the P. R. ban would have been rescinded. Edward F. Corsi, Republican delegate-at-large and deputy commissioner of welfare of New York City, tried to amend that resolution to allow the convention to reconsider this one matter. Judge Frederick E. Crane, the president of the convention, ruled him out of order and said there would be no time when his motion would be in order. The implication seemed to be that the convention, though still alive, was no longer master of its own destinies.

Later, when the P. R. ban was reached in the reading of the proposed constitution, George R. Fearon of Syracuse, former Republican leader in the state senate, moved to strike it out. Judge Crane ruled him out of order also. Senator Fearon thereupon appealed from the decision of the chair and demanded a roll call vote. The chair was sustained only by the close vote of eighty-five to seventy-five in spite of the fact that Judge Sears and Judge Hill, two of the most influential opponents of the ban on P. R., made statements reaffirming their position but upholding Judge Crane as in their opinion technically correct in his ruling.

Six of the most influential Democrats—the Democratic leader, United States Senator Robert F. Wagner, Judge Poletti, State Senators Philip M. Kleinfeld and Jacob H. Livingston of Brooklyn, State Conservation Commissioner Lithgow Osborne of Auburn, and Edward Weinfeld of Manhattan, who made a strong statement of his position—joined with sixty-nine of the ninety-two Republican delegates in voting to override the chair and reconsider. The roll call at least made it clear that there was no longer a majority of the convention—eighty-five votes—in favor of the ban on P. R.

The next day the convention did what it could to make amends by submitting the ban to the voters as a separate question after voting down a Democratic proposal to combine it with the rest of the suffrage article proposals. The work of the convention will be put before the voters in November in nine questions, of which the seventh will read:

"Shall the proposed amendment, submitted by the constitutional convention prohibiting voting by any system of proportional representation, be approved?"

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P. R. Rejected for New York Legislature.— It was not to be expected that a constitutional convention which finally voted to prohibit P. R. even for local elections would extend its use to the state legislature. Nevertheless, the attempt to make this extension received an amount of public support which was highly gratifying to its sponsors and some influencial support in the convention itself. The four proposals before the convention for applications of P. R. to elections of the legislature—two introduced by New York City's deputy welfare commissioner Edward Corsi, Republican, and two by Supreme Court Justice Charles Poletti, Democrat—were all killed in the convention's committee on the legislature and its organization. The committee rejected the request of civic organizations for a public hearing, but held a private hearing at which George H. McCaffrey, research director of the New York Merchants Association, and the editor of this department appeared in support and the Democratic P. R.

count directors for Manhattan, Brooklyn, and the Bronx appeared in opposition.

Nearly all the civic organizations which led the fight for the adoption of P. R. in New York City supported its extension to the state legislature. They were joined by the United Neighborhood Houses, the Queensboro Chamber of Commerce, and the Central Queens Allied Civic Council, which had taken no official position in the city campaign.

Outside New York City there was less active interest, but the state-wide conference on constitutional revision called by the state committee of the National Municipal League at Schenectady, the Ulster County Taxpayers Association, and the New Rochelle Chamber of Commerce passed official resolutions of approval and there was no evidence presented of organized upstate opposition.

A partial list of prominent individuals who were willing to be quoted as favoring some application of P. R. to state legislative elections was presented to the committee. It included, among many others, Judge Samuel Seabury of New York City and Easthampton; Dixon Ryan Fox, president of Union College, Schenectady; Leroy E. Snyder of Rochester, assistant to the president of the Gannett Newspapers; William E. Mosher, director of the School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University; Newbold Morris, president of the New York City council; and Stanley Isaacs, borough president of Manhattan and former president of the United Neighborhood Houses. The list also included the Republican P. R. count directors of last fall's New York City election for Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens, and Richmond (Staten Island) and the Democratic director for Queens —just half of the P. R. count directors for the whole city.

The *Utica Daily Press* and the *New York World Telegram* carried favorable editorials. The latter, in its issue of June 25th, protested editorially against the convention committee's refusal of a public hearing:

"We think P. R. entitled to at least a public hearing for two major reasons:

"1. Public interest in P. R. has been proved beyond all question by its adoption in New York City, which contains more than half of the state's population. Its extension to state elections has been urged by the City Fusion, American Labor, and Socialist parties, also by the Citizens Union, Merchants Association, and a number of other civic organizations. It is neither discredited nor forgotten.

"2. P. R. provides an automatic solution of the reapportionment problem which the legislature has disgracefully ducked and which even the constitutional convention has shown no very promising signs of meeting.

"Politicians may or may not be right in thinking the state's voters would disapprove P. R. for electing member of the state legislature. Nevertheless, the proposal is too competently backed, too progressive, too seriously discussed to warrant summarily smothering it in committee."

H. Duane Bruce, of Syracuse, chairman of the convention committee which considered the bills, in his address presenting the committee's reapportionment bill to the convention referred to a unicameral legislature elected by P. R. as the simplest solution of the reapportionment problem, but one which he considered unsound for a state like New York with one great city because it gave weight only to votes and not to territory. Assemblyman Moffat in defending the committee's bill on the floor said that he did not consider it ideal and that he had voted in committee for the election of one of the two houses by the only method which assured real equality of voting power, namely P. R.

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Wheeling Voters Affirm City Manager—P. R. Charter.—After a three-year trial under unfavorable administrative conditions, the voters of Wheeling, West Virginia, on July 28th expressed their satisfaction with, and confidence in, the "Cincinnati plan" city manager—P. R. charter which they had adopted at a popular referendum on April 18, 1935. Although the recent campaign was hotly contested, and both sides engaged in regrettable personalities during the final stages, the vote was light. Only 40.6 per cent of those registered went to the polls. The "Cincinnati plan" was victorious by a margin of 8,063 to 6,940, whereas in 1935 the pro-charter vote was 8,789 against 7,339. Since there is less than one per cent difference in the proportion of favorable votes on the two occasions, the charter may be said just to have held its own. This is a remarkably good showing, because the voters were compelled to distinguish between the charter itself and an unpopular city administration, which would have been defeated.

The election was the result of 11,400 voters

having signed petitions, under the West Virginia home rule statute, calling for a special election on the question of whether or not a new charter should be framed. The purpose was to restore the old ward system of elections. The movement was sponsored and led by several persons who had opposed the charter in 1935. The charter was defended by the Wheeling Association, which had but recently emerged from a two-year period of hibernation.

There is no doubt that the voters were impressed with the good financial record of the city since the advent of the Cincinnati plan, and that they did not favor a return to ward politics. But it must be admitted that another important factor in the charter victory was the lack of an effective election day organization on the part of the anti-charterites to get out their vote. On the other hand, the Wheeling Association's organization functioned like clockwork on election day, and squeezed out big majorities in nearly all precincts in the three favorable election districts out of nine. A good portion of the credit for this may be attributed to Mr. R. V. Engstrom, organization chairman during the final stages of the campaign.

The following editorial of July 30th from the *Wheeling Intelligencer,* a supporter of the Cincinnati plan from the very start, sums up the Wheeling situation in very well chosen words:

"Now that the Cincinnati plan charter has withstood a ballot test, it is to be hoped that there will be no confusion in any quarter as to just what Thursday's result means.

"The vote was in no sense a vindication of the present city administration. It was merely a vindication of the plan of municipal government under which the administration functions—and that by a minority vote.

"Those leading the campaign to preserve the charter made this distinction many times during the past several weeks. Nearly all friends of the charter admitted that the administration is not above criticism, but pointed out that none of the administrative faults could be fairly traced to the charter itself.

"At the same time it must be clear to all thinking people that dissatisfaction with the administration rather than with the law gave impetus and point to the opposition movement.

"Credit for the charter's victory, the *Intelligencer* feels, lies with the Wheeling Association. The young men of this group carried on a vigorous and effective campaign, reminiscent of the effort of the same organization which resulted in the adoption of the charter in the first place.

"The *Intelligencer* congratulates these young men on the result, and commends their interest in civic affairs. It makes bold to suggest, however, that, had the association maintained during the past three years the aggressive interest in city affairs it exhibited during the two campaigns in question, the movement which resulted in Thursday's election would never have developed.

"It is to be hoped, in the interest of good government and stability in the form of government, that the Wheeling Association will keep up its present interest in city hall and become thoroughly conversant with the facts of public administration in this community.

"Eight thousand affirmative votes out of a total registration of 37,000 is not a margin of charter endorsement which will permit of any resting on oars."

JULIAN G. HEARNE, JR.[1]
Secretary, Wheeling Association

[1]Mr. Hearne was the author of Wheeling's present charter and first president of the Wheeling Association.

Wheeling Keeps P. R.

We congratulate the people of Wheeling for their good judgment in voting to keep their present efficient, nonpartisan city government and the P. R. election system.

The majority of 1,123 in a special election appears to be a decisive rout of the selfish political forces which were seeking to overthrow the new type of government. The citizens had performance in the way of a balanced budget, efficient operation of city departments, and a sound credit rating and they voted to keep that which they found good.

But no rout of patronage-hungry politicians ever appears to be final, if we may judge from Cincinnati's experience over a dozen years. Only the perpetual vigilance of an alert citizenry keeps the raiders from the City Hall door.

Cincinnati Post, Editorial, July 20, 1938.

Four Massachusetts Cities to Vote on P. R.—Manager Plan.—It is now assured that four Massachusetts cities will vote on P. R.—council manager form of government November 8th.

Cambridge organized a committee on July 26th with James M. Landis, former SEC chairman and now dean of the Harvard Law School, as chairman and Chandler W. Johnson as executive director. In a spirited drive—despite the hot weather—the committee obtained eleven thousand signatures in less than three weeks. This was six thousand more than the 10 per cent of registered voters required by the new Bay State Plan E (council manager) law.

Northampton launched its campaign earlier. The work of obtaining the twelve hundred needed signatures was largely the single-handed effort of Dr. Frederic W. Plummer, who circulated the petitions, checked the names, and had them all prepared for filing nearly a month ahead of the August 25th closing date.

Dr. Plummer retired as principal of the Northampton High School last year. He still resides in the famous white clapboarded duplex house where he was Calvin Coolidge's neighbor for so many years.

In Quincy the drive for a Plan E charter is sponsored by the Quincy Taxpayers Association, of which Donald F. Cameron is president and William M. Edmonston executive secretary. Because of the organization's large membership little difficulty was encountered in securing the required thirty-eight hundred signatures.

Waltham also has filed petitions for a similar referendum.

Petitions for the four cities have been certified by election officials.

Springfield, New Bedford, Somerville, and Brockton have all heard some discussion of Plan E.

Cambridge, Northampton, and Quincy all report strong support for the plan from their local newspapers, and more talk is heard of P. R. and city managers in Massachusetts these days than ever before. This prompted one Boston newspaper—the *Christian Science Monitor*—to remark that "Hub" citizens feel pretty much out of things, inasmuch as Plan E was made available for every Bay State city except Boston.

ROBERT R. MULLEN[1]

[1]Mr. Mullen is assistant city editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*. His illustrated article on P. R. in the *Monitor* for August 3rd, entitled "Democracy Bucks Its Dictators," has aroused nationwide attention.

RECREATION

(Continued from Page 449)

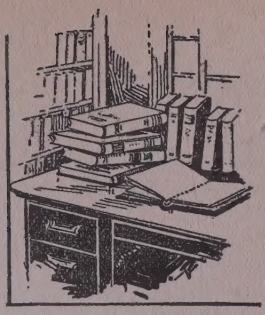
were about the same for swimming pools and golf courses. Income from bathing beaches and group camps fell a little short of meeting operation costs.

The Cincinnati Recreation Commission has blazed new trails in the matter of charges and the popularization of recreations. For example, it reduced golf fees from a minimum of one dollar to thirty-five cents for adults and fifteen cents for high school students. It offered free group lessons at neighborhood centers, factories, stores, and schools. As a result, thirteen thousand different persons registered at its two courses in 1937 in contrast with four thousand in 1934. Golf has ceased to be a rich man's game in Cincinnati.

CONCLUSION

It is clear that the events of the last decade have made the American people recreation-conscious to an increased degree. The facilities for outdoor public recreation have grown markedly in many cities. Access to school buildings has become easier although many school boards still resist the use of school buildings for recreation. There is a great need to consolidate public recreation services in several cities of the 500,000 to 1,000,000 population group or at least to secure closer coöperation among the two or more public agencies which are conducting activities in these cities. In some of these cities and in others there is an appalling lack of understanding among otherwise well informed citizens of what good recreation leadership implies. Where the public has enjoyed good recreation service it has shown it is willing to vote reasonable financial support. In cities where the general political situation is bad, however, and the recreation service indifferent or worse, extraordinary efforts will be required to develop activities of which the public can be proud—and this means skillful creation of an informed public opinion.

Recent Books Reviewed



EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

Valuation of Property. By James C. Bonbright. New York City, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1937. xx, 1271 pp. (two vols.). $12.

An electric light and power company is organized and financed at $15,000,000, its physical property constructed at $10,000,000. Some time later the state rate-making body finds the property worth $11,000,000. On appeal from this value the company secures a value fixed by the United States Supreme Court at $13,000,000. Meanwhile its tax valuation has been fixed at $8,000,000. Still later in receivership a court fixes an upset price of $5,000,000. Immediately the reorganization committee exchanges the property for securities having a par value of $12,000,000. Under eminent domain the state then takes over the enterprise on a jury award of $16,000,000. Professor Bonbright gives this hypothetical case to illustrate the wide discrepancies between values actually placed by officials and business interests on properties for different legal purposes. Such differences may be accounted for by inclusion or exclusion of certain items, the time factor, economic conditions, bias, prejudice—by reason of the specific purpose for which the valuation is made.

This latter reason and the law supporting and effecting it is the subject of the present work. To clarify this law, to strip the bland traditionalism away which says that "value means value" and twists the law into an erroneous interpretation, such is the purpose of this work. Here is the functional school criticizing and subjecting to rule one of the most important though uncriticized fields of our capitalistic economy.

The use of sales, original cost, replacement cost, capitalized income as measures of value are treated along with the technique of enterprise valuation and including a valuable chapter on depreciation. The work then analyzes valuation for various legal purposes—damages, fire insurance, eminent domain, general property tax, corporate tax assessments, estate and inheritance tax assessment, determination of solvency, stock watering, corporate reorganizations, dividends, federal income tax, and rate making.

The fuzzy theory and the logically defective nature of the general property tax are again set forth in this work. The familiar form of words giving the definition of taxable value under this form of tax as "true value," "fair cash value," "actual value," etc., are recapitulated and it is pointed out that the actual formula resultant from these statutory definitions is "the price which the property would bring in an open market on a free, not forced, sale between a willing seller and a willing buyer." Cases are then cited showing that neither "actual cost" nor "replacement cost" are necessarily value, that "fair market value" is not necessarily current market price, that market value is value to the owner or realization price in Wisconsin, although usually not elsewhere. The law here is vague because of assessor's tendencies not to put their eggs of value in one legal basket. Furthermore, these valuations are subject to administrative review and therefore not the subject of written opinions, since assessors are traditionally prone to blur fine points of theory rather than to pursue them to the point of legal contests with taxpayers.

In addition to its worth as a criticism of traditional legalism, the main point of this work is a rationalization of value concepts and appraisal technique by courts and lawyers, accountants and assessors, appraisers, and valuation experts. The uncritical rule of thumb methods of appraisal suffer a withering fire of criticism. Professor Bonbright and his associates in this truly encyclopedic work,

probably the most significant work in the field in our generation, has put this and succeeding generations of students and practitioners of economic value in his debt by this study of valuation. The study breaks down the frontiers separating the academic economist's theory from the jurist's rulings on evidence, the accountant's rule of thumb balance sheet appraisals from the appraiser's inspired guessing on earnings of an enterprise.

The functionalist criticism of our legal theory and courts is well illustrated by Professor Bonbright who takes some well timed sledge-hammer blows—"The vice of traditional law lies, not in its adoption of excessively rigid concepts of value and rules of valuation, but rather in its tendency to permit shifts in meaning that are inept, or else that are ill defined because the judges that make them will not openly admit that they are doing so. . . . He [the judge] is almost exempt from being convicted of faulty logic, since most of his audience are guilty of the same logical fallacy. He is largely immune from the charge that his action will not accomplish a socially desirable result since he can reply that his function is to administer the law, not to create it."

The wonder is that we have had to wait so long for such a study as this concerning so central a problem in our economy. One reason is that no one has seen the problem entire as Professor Bonbright does and the other is that the shift from laissez faire to a controlled, if not planned, economy makes such a development imperative.

HALE T. SHENEFIELD
Auditor, Lucas County (Toledo), Ohio

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Man Made Culture. By Frank Ernest Hill. New York, N. Y., American Association for Adult Education, 1938. 166 pp. $1.25.

Man is a clubbable animal. He gathers in groups because he is urged to by a drive deeper than consciousness and then rationalizes about it by asserting that he does it for high purposes chief of which is that blanket aim called culture. But in the next breath, particularly if there is a woman around, he tries to make it clear that he is not too serious about it. This author, however, is not undeceived by this attempt to dissemble and he brings together a mass of material which suggests the amount of culturing men do to themselves in their clubs. This knowledge is important for those concerned with the betterment of local government. It is this interest which is responsible for the city club movement whether of the passive type of Cleveland or the militant type of New York. The significance of city clubs is discussed on page 55 and the judgment is given that, "They represent the efforts—still rather vague and feeble—of American communities to share in the determination of public policy." It would be interesting to read that sentence to the habitues of the long table of the New York City Club, or to have William Feather discuss it at the Sanhedrin table of the Cleveland City Club and have Peter Witt reply. There would be agreement, however, with the sentence on page 137 that city clubs set "a surprisingly high standard in the selection of speakers."

A group of men in any city, interested in organizing themselves for the bettering of their city in its governmental phase, and in bettering themselves to pursue that object as individual citizens, will find this little book of value. If they decide to mix "minicams" with municipal affairs as the Milwaukee City Club does, they will learn of similar undertakings in places remote in geography but close in spirit.

WALTER J. MILLARD

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Unicameral Legislation in the States. By James W. Manning. Lexington, Kentucky, Bureau of Government Research, University of Kentucky, 1938. 13 pp. mimeo.

A discussion of what constitutes a good legislature, and how our present bicameral set-up meets the conditions as compared with a unicameral body. Presented are arguments for and against the unicameral legislature, with a discussion of Nebraska's experiment.

*

The Community School. Edited by Samuel Everett. New York City, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1938. xii, 487 pp. $2.25.

A report, analysis, and discussion of the community school programs which have been experimented with in various types of communities. Contributing editors include Leonard Covello, Edgar M. Draper, Myles Horton, H. Gordon Hullfish, Allan Hulsizer, William H. Kilpatrick, Frank E. Midkiff, Paul J. Misner, Paul R. Pierce, George I. Sanchez, and H. A. Tape.

Low Cost Housing Legislation. By Arthur Harris. Berkeley, California, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, 1938. 22 pp. mimeo.

A discussion of the federal government's role in low cost housing, including the Wagner-Steagall housing act, and an analysis of housing authority laws in states other than California, which, at the time of the preparation of the study, had passed no legislation enabling the setting up of such authorities.

*

Who's Who in Public Administration Research in Virginia. By Rowland Egger, Raymond Uhl, and Vincent Shea. University, Virginia, Division of Publications of the Bureau of Public Administration, 1938. 67 pp. mimeo.

A directory of specialists in various phases of the field of public administration and in closely allied fields.

*

Who Uses the Public Library. By William Converse Haygood. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1938. xix, 137 pp. $2.00.

A survey of the patrons of the circulation and reference departments of the New York Public Library.

*

Conditional Sales Contracts in Municipal Purchases. Chicago, American Municipal Association, 1938. 15 pp. mimeo. Fifty cents.

A presentation of some of the legal aspects of the purchase of certain heavy machinery and supplies under conditional sales contracts, wherein the municipality concerned makes payment for such purchases from revenues produced by them, the title remaining in the vendor until such payments are made.

*

The Role of the Library in Adult Education. Edited by Louis R. Wilson. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1937. xi, 321 pp. $2.00.

Papers presented before the Library Institute at the University of Chicago, August 2-13, 1937.

*

Paying for our Public Schools. By Frank W. Cyr, Arvid J. Burke, and Paul R. Mort. Scranton, Pennsylvania, International Textbook Company, 1938. x, 197 pp. $2.00.

A presentation, for the average citizen, of the fundamental facts and principles of school finance.

*

Social Interpretation. By Arthur B. Moehlman. New York City, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1938. xiii, 485 pp. $3.00.

The primary purpose of this book is to give to school executives and teachers a better understanding of the school and its interpretive needs and to show the ways in which the school and its objectives can best be explained to the community.

*

The Regulation of Billboards and the Business of Outdoor Advertising. By Harry R. Betters. Washington, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1937. 26 pp. mimeo. $1.00.

A discussion of the regulations of 150 major cities covering billboards and the business of outdoor advertising.

*

Public Works Engineers' Yearbook, 1938. Chicago, American Public Works Association, 1938. viii, 482 pp. $3.50.

A comprehensive review and appraisal of the significant developments of 1937 in the public works field.

*

Municipal Abattoirs and Private Slaughterhouses. Chicago, American Municipal Association and the International City Managers' Association, 1938. 45 pp. mimeo. $1.00.

A factual study of the cost and operation of thirty-two city-owned abattoirs and methods of control over private slaughterhouses.

*

Present Practices in Financing Governmental Research. By Abbett Pulliam. Schenectady, Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., 1938. 25 pp. mimeo.

A summary of the experience of fifty-one citizen agencies for governmental research as revealed by questionnaires and personal inquiry.

*

Traffic Survey Data on the City of St. Louis, 1936-1937. By Charles H. Diel of the Works Progress Administration, with as-

sistance of William F. Saunders and Lawrence M. Farrell. St. Louis, Board of Public Service, 1938. 80 pp. (maps and charts).

*

Government in Fascist Italy. By H. Arthur Steiner. New York City, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1938. xii, 158 pp. $1.50.

This book analyzes the form which the government of Italy has assumed under Fascist auspices and provides the answers to many questions concerning that country's government.

*

The Politics of Modern Spain. By Frank A. Manuel. New York City, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1938. xiii, 194 pp. $1.50.

The postwar decay, Primo de Rivera's dictatorship, collapse of the monarchy, republican coalition government, the consolidation of opposition, the birth of the People's Front, and the Fascist counter-offensive are discussed in this book.

COOPERATION IN PURCHASING

(Continued from Page 444)

justify its dormancy; nevertheless, it has been apparent from the outset that ignorance of the very existence of the provisions for state centralized purchasing has been a major cause of its neglect. Such a plan requires a stimulus, and in no instance does there seem to be anyone so deeply concerned that the matter is constantly kept before the people. Little impetus can be expected to come from the leaders in the field of purchasing in major cities because the advantages of this plan are insignificant to them, nor is it likely that the state will become over-enthusiastic about the plan. If the plan has value it is for municipalities too small to provide an adequate system for themselves and in them the impetus is thwarted by a spirit of provincialism.

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